

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

WHATEVER Dr. W. R. MATTHEWS writes is worth reading. It is certain to be fresh, suggestive, and penetrating. He is one of the men in the theological world whose voice counts in any debate. It is therefore with interest and expectation we turn to his article in the *Church Quarterly Review* on 'Some Recent Tendencies in Philosophy and the Doctrine of the Incarnation.' There is no doubt that the Incarnation is the central truth of the Christian religion, and there is as little doubt that it is the centre of the controversial battle to-day. In what sense, and on what grounds, can we call Jesus Divine? That is the real question to-day, and every one who seeks to adjust his faith to the changing conditions of the intellectual environment has to ask and answer it.

What has philosophy to say that bears on the subject? We may reasonably seek from it an account of the world-view characteristic of our time. And if we are to adjust our faith to the prevailing intellectual outlook we ought to get some help from philosophy. But here there is a difficulty. The world-view is not a stable thing. It is constantly changing, and when we turn to seek help from philosophy, Dr. MATTHEWS seems inclined to echo Dr. Gore in asking whether there is any coherent philosophy in existence. There are all sorts of schools of philosophy, each saying a different thing. Yet it is to philosophy we must turn if we are to get

any conception of the idea of the universe which is emerging in the mind of to-day.

And when we look closer we discover that all the schools of philosophy arrange themselves in two groups—one that begins with the object, Nature, the given, and strives to build up a system on that basis; the other that begins with the subject, the knower, and attempts to construct a view of the universe as essentially thought, spirit, mind. The difficulty that one feels is how mind can find a place in Nature; the difficulty of the other is to find 'Nature's place in mind.' These are roughly realism and idealism. And representatives of these two schools at present who may be taken as typical are Professor Alexander and Professor Lloyd Morgan of the one, and Giovanni Gentile of the other.

The most interesting development in English thought on the naturalistic side is the theory of emergent evolution. This is not creative evolution, for the adherents of the former are opposed to the idea of a force which falls outside the order of Nature, whether you call that force God or *élan vital*. And yet it is not the old naturalism. It rejects the old mechanistic view. Its real point is the emergence of something essentially new, and that is naturalism with a difference. It is a kind of half-way house between mechanism and teleology. For though there is no plan beforehand, things work

out 'so as to produce a plan.' There is a *nisus* towards higher values. In short, there is everything of a purpose except the Purposer.

How does the doctrine of Incarnation stand in this environment? Dr. MATTHEWS thinks that the spiritual values for which the Incarnation stands could be conserved under this scheme. It would be possible to hold that Jesus represents the emergent quality towards which the *nisus* is tending. But the real meaning of the Incarnation, the finality of Jesus and the embodiment in Him of a Purpose, could not be maintained. That is true of Professor Alexander's scheme. It is a good deal different when we turn to Professor Lloyd Morgan. For his position goes beyond mere naturalism. It is rather a monism which regards the temporal process as a manifestation of timeless spiritual substance. In this sense the emergent evolution may be regarded as the unfolding of a Divine purpose. And we have thus a place for the Incarnation. Yet even in this more spiritual view there are aspects of the Incarnation which it seems difficult to preserve. There is no breaking in of another order on this, nor is there any possibility of holding to the two natures in Christ. For to emergent evolution, as to all naturalism and monism, there is only one order and there is no room for any dualism.

When we turn to the other line of thought, the idealistic, we take Gentile as a representative because his position is the purest kind of idealism. To him all is thought. Spiritual reality is the pure act of thought. When I speak of 'I,' for example, it is not what I mean in ordinary speech. My real ego is the transcendental ego, the thought which is continually realizing itself in the manifold of Nature and of empirical selves. Gentile would seem to find reality in nothing static, but in movement, the act of thinking. Is it possible to find a place for Incarnation in such a purely idealistic scheme? For a Christology certainly. There is room for a Christ who is the Divine Thought in us and in the world, a sort of sublimated Christ. But not for Incarnation of the Chalcedon formula.

What, then, is the result of a survey of contemporary philosophical tendencies? We may note some positive gains. Both the schools referred to agree in one thing, and that of great importance. They both come in the end to conceive the world as spirit, and as a realm in which spiritual values are realized through human personality. That is a gain. But there is something just as important to be said that raises a difficulty. Both schools agree in repudiating dualism; the familiar antithesis, Nature and the supernatural, God and man, disappears. And it is therefore clear that to the modern mind dogmas which are expressed in terms of such a dualism will be difficult.

Dr. MATTHEWS has one final suggestion to make. He protests that what we want to keep is not any one formulation of the doctrine of Incarnation, but the spiritual values for which it stands. If the formulation of these is outworn, ought we not to seek other terms in which to express the spiritual values? Dr. MATTHEWS suggests that we shall find such a new and better formulation in the Logos conception. It is inclusive of both immanence and transcendence, and both these conceptions are involved in the two schools of thought reviewed. At least neither is excluded. In any case we must restate our faith not in terms which represent a world-view now outworn, but in terms of the thought of our day, of that belief in an Immanent Spirit which is behind all the life and movement and thought and achievement of man.

It is long since Principal A. E. GARVIE earned his right to an attentive hearing from the Christian public when he chose to address it on theological matters, whether in their intellectual or their practical bearing. Besides being one of our most distinguished theologians, he is also one of our best known preachers, and he has ably represented his Church at conferences where momentous issues were at stake. We turn therefore with high expectation to his recent book on *The Preachers of the Church* (James Clarke; 6s. net).

Twice before Dr. GARVIE has written on preaching—in his 'Guide to Preachers' and in 'The Christian Preacher'; but the distinctive aim of 'The Living Church' series, to which this book is a contribution, has enabled him to traverse the familiar ground in a new way, and to present the subject under fresh aspects. The interest of the volume is further enhanced by a few autobiographical touches.

In dealing with the relation of the preacher to the Bible, for example, he hints that some of his brethren may regard him as 'too outspoken on all such matters,' and he tells us that he has even had the epithet 'blasphemer' applied to him. It adds to the force of his argument on the relation of the preacher to the social problem when he assures us that he has had practical experience of business, and when from this vantage-point he can affirm that 'with all deference to the laymen who are in business, the properly trained preacher is likely to have a wider knowledge and a keener insight in regard to Christian morality even in its particular applications, except as regards expert knowledge of the details of any business.' And his friendly reference to the Copeck and the Stockholm Conferences shows how heavily the grave problems of the modern world lie upon his heart.

His book is divided into two sections: the first historical, the second practical. This is a happy division; for it enables him, before proceeding to practical counsels for the preacher, to give a vivid presentation of some of the great preachers of the Church at different periods of her development, such as Chrysostom, Bernard of Clairvaux, Calvin, Schleiermacher, etc., and to show how wisely in those various periods—prophetic, apostolic, patristic, scholastic, reformation, revival, and missionary—they adapted their message to the intellectual, social, and spiritual needs of their time.

Valuable as this historical sketch is, it is probably to the practical section that preachers will most eagerly turn. For, while preaching that is worth while has never been easy, it is to-day beset by

peculiar difficulties: for, as Dr. GARVIE puts it, 'one of the tragedies of the present hour is the extent to which the pulpit has lost command over the cultured class as well as the labouring masses.' Of the former, some of those who still care for the things of the spirit have run to Christian Science, Theosophy, and the Ethical Society; while of the latter many suppose, foolishly enough, that the Church has little interest in their needs and aspirations.

The problems presented to the preacher by Biblical criticism, modern science and philosophy, and modern social and industrial life are faced by Dr. GARVIE with engaging candour, and we feel in every phase of the discussion that we are in the hands of a wise and trusty guide, who knows not only the Christian way but the ways of the modern mind. The remedy for the present distress is just the old remedy, the gospel—nothing less and nothing more.

But Dr. GARVIE has some rather scathing things to say to those who misunderstand the meaning and implications of that deceptively simple phrase, 'the simple gospel.' 'The man,' he tells us, 'who claims to put the Gospel in a nutshell offers a measure, not of the Gospel, but of his own mind. The clamour for a *simple* Gospel is a stupid and lazy demand.' The presentation of the gospel should be as simple and lucid as the preacher can make it; but the gospel itself has to do with the deep things of God. It has endless implications and ramifications, it affects the whole range of individual and social experience, it penetrates the world of economics and politics and thought no less than the world of spirit; so it may happen that 'the demand for the simple Gospel is, even if unconsciously, a desire to enjoy the benefits without accepting the obligations of Christ.'

Governing all that Principal GARVIE has to say with regard to the preacher's treatment of the modern situation, whether in the world of industry or of thought, is the principle that he must qualify

himself, by a study as thorough as possible, to understand that situation. Without an experience of God, he has no competence to speak of God ; so without some hard-won knowledge of the problems of the time, his treatment of these problems can be little more than an impertinence. It is not his business to produce solutions—even the expert may hesitate before such a demand ; but it is his business to acquaint himself, so far as for him is possible, with the real nature of the problems which harass the minds of those whom he addresses.

Dr. GARVIE illustrates this thesis in several directions. An unapplied principle may be little better than a platitude. Not afraid of coming down to detail, Dr. GARVIE shows how some aspects of the social problem may be dealt with in the pulpit, and he maintains that no preacher is really meeting the challenge of the times 'unless he summons industry to appear before the judgment-bar of Christ.'

His remarks on 'the new psychology' are equally to the point. A knowledge of psychology, if it be adequate and not superficial, is part of the necessary equipment of the preacher. The phases of recent psychology which glorify instinct to the depreciation of reason and conscience exercise a fascination as fatal as it is intelligible over certain minds ; and it is the preacher's duty to understand and to combat such interpretations of human life as tend to obliterate the distinction between the man and the brute.

So the Principal goes through the dominant phases of modern thought and shows the preacher how he should relate himself to them, and how he may most helpfully guide those who are perplexed by them. One of his most useful discussions is that in which he deals with the proper attitude of the pulpit to the questions raised by Biblical criticism.

Here, as everywhere, the broad principle is that the truth must be spoken in love. No true Christian preacher will ever give needless offence. But this

does not mean that ignorant and blatant opposition to the methods and conclusions of reverent Christian scholarship is to remain unrebuked and unrefuted. Some of Dr. GARVIE's most vigorous thrusts are dealt at 'the zealous but unwise defenders of the older views about the Bible who by their distortions of what the modern scholarship teaches are doing untold mischief to the cause which they undoubtedly have at heart.'

The Bible is indeed infallible—Dr. GARVIE admits that—but 'infallible in its proper purpose, to bring God to men, and men to God.' But those who substitute for this, its proper infallibility, an infallibility which the Bible nowhere claims 'are often so offensive and intolerant that they do not deserve consideration, and even invite a chastisement by speech.' 'It is the traditionalists who are a far greater peril to the preservation of the Gospel for the thought and the life of to-day than are even the negative critics.' These are strong words, but they are not too strong ; and Dr. GARVIE, by his own solid contribution to theological learning, has earned the right to say them.

The preacher who believes in the modern approach to the Bible will not, as a rule, obtrude it : rather it will be implicit in all his presentations of religious truth, so that his hearers will, by a gradual and practically unconscious process, be detaching themselves from obscurantist views. But there are times, Dr. GARVIE believes, when the preacher, if he is competent, is bound to deal with these subjects explicitly ; and, speaking generally, the Bible class or the week-evening meeting will furnish the most suitable opportunity for such an effort.

In a concluding chapter Dr. GARVIE touches on the momentous question of theological training. What curriculum will best equip the student for the ministry of preaching ? Many will agree with him that on some students the linguistic demands are too burdensome, but those who believe in an educated ministry will equally agree that if these demands are replaced by others, then no less a

breadth and accuracy of knowledge should be exacted in these substituted subjects than in those involving linguistic discipline. Whatever is done should be thoroughly done, whether it be the exploration of the twentieth century or of the first.

The writer of this book is equally at home in the modern world and in the gospel: above all he is one who, in a world which is tending to depreciate preaching and to replace its appeal by ritual or literature, magnifies the office of the preacher. And there can be few preachers so competent for their task that their ministry would not be enriched, guided, and stimulated by this able book.

The modern world has travelled far away from the time when theology was revered as the queen of the sciences. To many minds nothing seems more sterile than theological discussion, and even preachers and students of theology are in haste to leave it in their eagerness to come at something more practical. Signs, however, are not wanting that this cloud is passing, and that theology will presently resume its sway as the science of the ultimate and most vital reality. Indications of this appear in a series of thoughtful addresses delivered to students at Swanwick, and now published under the title of *Theology and Life* (S.C.M.; 4s. net). Specially worthy of note is a paper by Dr. KULLMANN on 'Doctrine and Life.'

Preachers and theologians, he believes, are still wanted. Why? Because 'this whole busy humanity of ours, so exclusively *this-worldly*, knows, in spite of everything, that somewhere, somehow, all this life of ours must be hooked up on a nail. . . . It is not we who are asking a question. God is asking us, He who is craving for our answer, who cares for *one* answer only—our love.' And because there is no escaping this question, men cannot help looking around for an answer. 'I tell you why the world needs theologians and preachers. They want you to tell them the answer to God they do not know themselves. . . . People need you because they

cannot escape from God questioning them. And they want you to tell them the word, in order to answer; the word about death which is a new life, the word about death which is resurrection, the word about sin and evil which is forgiveness and salvation, the word about the dreadful unknown which is revelation. Not *words*, not *your words*, they do not care about your words: God's WORD through your words.'

Yet theology is sick and discredited, a deposed queen, tolerated perhaps beside other sciences, but looked upon as abstract, a mere side-show of vital religion. There are reasons for this. For one thing 'Theology has lost, to a large extent, a vital connection with the order of revelation and grace.' The order of grace means that in our act of faith we are touched and overwhelmed by God's reality breaking graciously in upon us. Ours is merely the desperate yearning for Him; His the merciful gift of grace. There is no knowledge of God outside grace and revelation. We can know about God only through His speaking to us about Himself. 'And yet theology plays with names and rational concepts *about* God. Whether dogmatic or anti-dogmatic, she has not any more the power to grasp the fact that behind and within human words and concepts we perceive God's living Truth.' God becomes merely an object of our investigation, like any other phenomenon of our consciousness. It follows from this that doctrinal statements about God become assimilated to scientific knowledge and are put in the same category with scientific findings about other subjects. Once the dogmas have been emptied of their mystical treasures, once theology has broken loose from the order of revelation and grace, the human reason, autonomous, knowing no other criterion than that of formal logic, begins to investigate the facts of revelation and faith with the whole apparatus of modern science. 'This passionate attempt to dissolve the order of grace and revelation in human reasoning, with science as the central object, included in its scope the personality of Jesus Christ. All the many lives of Jesus in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as they are

analysed in masterly fashion in Schweitzer's book, give you a stirring picture of what we have done with the God-Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, of how we can get to know Him outside the order of revelation and grace ! A wandering Jewish preacher with a hypertrophied self-consciousness ! Is this the living foundation of power, the fearful and adorable image of God's love ? Are we going to feed the hungry and the thirsty with exegetical shrewdness, popular scientific theories, to explain the miracles, the Resurrection ?

Something else happened. 'Necessarily a reversion of order in the thought-plane was very soon accompanied by a reversion in the religious plane proper.' The phenomenon of religion is a human affair, just as the phenomenon of art or law. We got hold of this religious instinct and began to feel it was the primary thing. Religiously it meant that we began to adore our religiosity, instead of a loving God. Transcendence broke off from immanence, and immanence was made an idol. Thus, 'as we view the whole field of modern theology, we see that the sickness is not due to a conflict between traditional and rational supernaturalism and humanised liberalism—orthodoxy *versus* modernism. Neither of these aspects is sound, neither has the right to challenge the other. They are both wrong, their very existence is the symptom of crisis. *The one and the other are to-day the biggest stumbling-block in the presentation of the Christian faith.* Who wonders then that theology is discredited, and Christian life turns its head from Christian thought and doctrine ?'

What is the remedy ? Life is revolting against doctrine, but life is helpless without doctrine. Doctrine has to go back to life and be healed in healing life. Doctrine and life cannot live without one another. In the depth of our heart we know it. Among the many healing processes which have to

take place in the Christian Church this is one of the most urgent. 'What we need is not merely *re-statement* but a new vision for the whole field of doctrine and dogmatics. We must learn to be more objective and not to over-emphasise our emotional inner life, with its religiosity and its emotional moods ; on the other hand, we must be more critical about our passion for doing. He who loveth Him, knoweth Him. Do we know Him ? Is the mind not God's gift ? Must the mind not be re-deemed as well as our hearts and our wills ?'

At the same time we must keep in view the danger of Gnosticism. No doctrinal cognition whatever will replace the immediate experience of God we have in prayer and sacraments. There is no salvation and power in the mere road of contemplation. 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.' We have to approach Him in fear and trembling, and in love and faith. 'The central dogmatic formulations of Paul and of the Early Church, especially the Christology, are statements made in fear and trembling and in love and faith, when "we have come to know God, or rather to be known of Him," in other words, when God speaks in man, in His Church, through the Holy Spirit. And it is wisdom not of this world. Only rationalisation makes dogma wisdom of this world. It is foolishness to us because it is wisdom to God. And dogmas are descriptive on our plane of what happens on the eternal plane. Yet more, as God reveals Himself through them, dogmas partake of the wonder of incarnation ; human words and concepts of this world become bearers of Truth Eternal. Dogmas are at the cutting line of the two planes. And instead of rationalising them and then throwing them away, we had better take off our hats, as Luther once said, and by prayer and repentance endeavour to get such a hold of God that He may open our eyes and let us see, through the dogmas, the Truth.'

Judaism and Universalism in the Gospels.

BY PROFESSOR C. J. CADOUX, M.A., D.D., SHIPLEY, YORKS.

I.

THE problem with which these two articles attempt to deal is this: how far did Jesus Himself foresee, and explicitly foretell and enjoin, that universalism which, within thirty years of His death, had become so marked a feature of the movement which He started; and how far, on the other hand, was He, as a Jewish teacher among Jews, influenced by that strong nationalistic particularism which we commonly associate with the Judaism of His time?

I. JEWISH UNIVERSALISM.

We may remind ourselves, in the first place, that even in the Old Testament there is a good deal of quite explicit universalism. Israel started indeed with belief in a tribal deity, Yahweh, beside whom there existed many other deities worshipped by other tribes and nations. But with the growth of Hebrew national greatness and religious insight, Yahweh came to be regarded, first as stronger than and superior to all other deities, and then as the sole-existing Deity in the heaven and earth that He had made. The logical implication of this monotheism was that, not Israel only, but all the nations of the earth, were the objects of Yahweh's providential care. It took time for this implication to be clearly seen and accepted; but seen and accepted it certainly was. Amos made a beginning by declaring that Yahweh was just as responsible for the migrations of the Philistines and the Syrians as He was for those of Israel (Am 9⁷). Isaiah saw a vision of all nations coming to Jerusalem to learn His law (Is 2²⁻⁴ = Mic 4¹⁻³). Writers of the seventh century show traces of the same general idea (Dt 32⁴³, Ps 87⁴, Zeph 3⁹). Jeremiah re-echoes it (Jer 16¹⁹⁻²¹); while Habakkuk declares that 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of Yahweh's glory, as the waters cover the sea' (Hab 2¹⁴). In the early exilic period, the author of the 'Servant-Poems' depicts Yahweh's Servant as extending the knowledge of the Divine Law to the eagerly awaiting Gentiles (Is 42¹⁻⁴). 'It is too light a thing,' he hears Yahweh saying, 'that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the dispersed of Israel [only]. I will also

put thee as a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may extend to the end of the earth' (Is 49⁶). Deutero-Isaiah repeats this forecast on his own account (Is 42⁶ 51^{4f.}; cf. Am 9¹²). Zechariah reaffirms it amid the returned exiles, 'many nations shall join themselves to Yahweh in that day, and shall be my people' (Zec 2¹¹; cf. 8^{22f.}). It appears again and again in the post-exilic literature: thus, for instance, 'In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; inasmuch as Yahweh of hosts will have blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my possession' (Is 19^{24f.}; cf. 19¹⁸⁻²³, also 56^{6f.} ['My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the peoples'], Jer 3¹⁷, Zec 14^{16ff.}). The two short and beautiful books of Ruth and Jonah were probably written (perhaps round about 400 B.C.) as a protest against the narrow Judaism fostered by the perils and difficulties of the time, and encouraged by the policy, of Ezra and Nehemiah. Universalistic expressions also occur in the late Jewish apocryphal writings (e.g. Sibyll. Orac. 3⁶⁵²⁻⁷⁹⁵, esp. 787f.; To 13¹¹ 14^{6f.}; cf. Schürer, *Gesch.* ii. 593-96 [Eng. tr. ii. 139-141]). The best Jewish minds hoped for more than the submission of the Gentile nations to the resurgent empire of Israel: they hoped for the ultimate conversion of these nations to a saving belief in Yahweh and their full participation in His coming Kingdom, and they believed that it was accordingly the duty of Israel to propagate the true faith throughout the world.¹

In the times in which Jesus lived, this Jewish universalism was still a power. A vigorous proselytism was carried on, and met with very considerable success. The irrepressible inclination to impart to others the religious truth treasured by oneself largely qualified the tendency towards a

¹ Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Eng. tr., ii. 198, 346; Holtzmann, *N.T. Theologie*, i. 277; Hirsch in *Jew. Encyc.*, v. 616a; Schürer, *Geschichte*, ii. 629-632 (Eng. tr., ii. 172-174), iii. 162 f. (Eng. tr., ii. 304); Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, Eng. tr., i. 16 f.; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, 146-149, 273 f., 371-373.

narrow particularism. There was much in Judaism, with its monotheism and its lofty ethic, to attract serious-minded pagans. The Pharisees of Palestine compassed sea and land in their effort to make one proselyte (Mt 23¹⁵). In the Diaspora, the work of propaganda was carried on more actively and successfully still. Proselytes were of several grades: not all were required to accept the full yoke of the Law; and we are told of one Rabbi who even argued that converts might be exempted from the necessity of circumcision. Hillel, the most famous Rabbi of the times immediately before Jesus' ministry, was interested in the propaganda, and said: 'Be ye of the disciples of Aaron, . . . loving mankind, and bringing them nigh to the Law' (*Pirke Abhoth*, i. 12). Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, was another propagandist.¹

Apart from the teaching of Jesus, there is a certain amount of universalism in the Gospels, reflecting the broader Judaism of the time. Thus John the Baptist repudiates the idea that Jewish descent was any guarantee of a share in God's Messianic blessings (Mt 3⁹=Lk 3⁸). In the Lucan narrative of Jesus' infancy, the prayer of the aged Symeon breathes this wider sympathy: 'Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared in face of all the peoples; a light for revelation to Gentiles, and for the glory of thy people Israel' (Lk 2³⁰⁻³²). This simple Jewish universalism shades off imperceptibly into the Christian universalism which the Church took for granted in the days when the Evangelists wrote. Thus Mark (7⁸) speaks of the Jews and their customs in a purely external way: Luke carries back the genealogy of Jesus to 'Adam, the son of God' (3³⁸), applies to the Baptist's appearance the prophecy 'All flesh shall see the salvation of God' (3⁶), and preserves no saying which confines the activities of Jesus to the Jews. Even 'Matthew,' with his Jewish leanings, brings the Gentile astrologers from the East to the Messiah's cradle (Mt 2¹⁻¹²), specifies 'Galilee of the Gentiles' as the scene of His activities (4¹³⁻¹⁶), and quotes the universalistic 'Servant-Poems' in connexion with His peaceful public ministry (12^{18, 21}).²

II. JEWISH PARTICULARISM .

But alongside this broad human sympathy, and in frequent conflict with it, there ran a stream of bitter and narrow particularism. The sufferings of the Jews at the hands of the Gentiles had generated fierce nationalistic antipathies. After the Exile, the restored Jewish community had scornfully rejected the offer of their neighbours to co-operate in restoring the worship of Yahweh. Ezra and Nehemiah had discountenanced as religious treason marriages with non-Jewish women. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and the ensuing successes of the Maccabæan warrior-princes sharpened Israel's antagonism to the rest of the world. The conquest of Palestine by Pompeius, the long reigns of the semi-foreign Herods and their sons, and the hard government of the Roman procurators, alienated the Jews still further. They came to regard the Gentiles as impious and unclean idolaters—eligible for conversion to Judaism, it is true, but, if converted, obliged to keep the whole Law, and even then admitted only to an inferior status, and if unconverted, deserving only to be despised and avoided. In Jewish apocalyptic, which was at its height in the period during which Jesus lived, the Gentiles usually figured as enemies destined soon to be overthrown and destroyed *en masse*. In the period culminating in A.D. 70, the antipathy to everything non-Jewish was steadily on the increase. One comparatively mild phase of this particularism was the fact that Jewish religious thought concentrated its interest, with an intense and exclusive energy, on the religious concerns of the Chosen People itself, to the tacit neglect of the Gentile world.³

As with the universalism, so with the particularism, of the time, we may trace its presence in the Gospels apart from the words of Jesus. John the Baptist, despite his threat that God would not necessarily save the existing children of Abraham, but could, if He wanted to, raise up others, yet seems—by his use of the rite of baptism (which i. 38-41 (but some of the passages quoted in 41, note 2, are not universalistic).

³ Cf. Holtzmann, *N.T. Theol.*, i. 96, 277; Schürer, *Geschichte*, iii. 162 f. (Eng. tr., ii. ii. 303 f.); Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, i. 17 f.; Hirsch in *Jew. Encyc.*, v. 616-618, x. 223b; Eisenstein, *ibid.*, v. 623b; Harnack, *Mission*, Eng. tr., i. 16-18; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, 437. Note also Paul's language in Gal 2¹⁴.

¹ Cf. also Hirsch in *Jew. Encyc.*, v. 221 f., 621a, x. 221-223; Schürer, *Geschichte*, iii. 150-188 (Eng. tr., ii. ii. 291-327); Montefiore, *Synopt. Gosp.*, i. lxxxi; Harnack, *loc. cit.* On the whole subject, see also A. Causse, *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité* (Paris, 1924).

² Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*; Harnack, *Mission*, Eng. tr.,

was always administered to Jewish proselytes on conversion) and by his general message—to 'have conceived of the Kingdom of God . . . as consisting of a purified Israel—the "wheat" of the nation which should be left after the "chaff" had been winnowed out and consumed by the Messiah.'¹

The Lucan Infancy-narratives, which depict truly the Jewish piety of the time, contain much more particularism than universalism. Gabriel tells Zachariah that John 'will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God . . . to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him' (Lk 1^{16f.}); and he tells Mary that God will give Jesus 'the throne of his father David, and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever' (Lk 1^{32f.}; cf. v.²⁷). In the 'Magnificat,' Mary sings: 'He has helped Israel his servant, remembering mercy—as he promised our fathers—(mercy) for Abraham, and for his seed for ever' (Lk 1^{54f.}). The song of Zachariah at the birth of John is a purely Jewish song of rejoicing, without a single reference to any benefit which God intends to bestow on the Gentiles (Lk 1⁶⁸⁻⁷⁹). The angels tell the shepherds that a Saviour is born for them—the Lord Messiah—in the city of David (Lk 2¹¹); and there is no universalism in the song of the heavenly host, for 'Peace on earth, goodwill towards men' (Lk 2¹⁴) is the translation of an inferior reading, the true text giving 'on earth peace among men (divinely) favoured,' *i.e.*, presumably, the Jews among whom this Messiah was born. Symeon was looking for the consolation of Israel (Lk 2²⁵), and told Mary that Jesus was destined to occasion the rise and fall of many in Israel (Lk 2³⁴): the aged Anna spoke of Him 'to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem' (Lk 2³⁸). The parents of Jesus took Him to the Temple to carry out the regulations of the Mosaic Law (Lk 2²⁷), and returned to Galilee only when they had done so (Lk 2³⁹). Thereafter they visit Jerusalem annually for the Passover (Lk 2^{41f.}). The Gospel of 'Matthew,' needless to say, is saturated with Judaism. Jesus' descent is traced from Abraham through David and the kings of Judah (Mt 1¹⁻¹⁷). Joseph, his legal father, is addressed as 'Son of David' (Mt 1²⁰). Jesus is born 'King of the Jews' (Mt 2²), and is destined to 'save his people from their sins' (Mt 1²¹). According to the old prophet, God had declared to Bethlehem: 'Out of thee shall come a ruler, who shall shepherd my people Israel' (Mt 2⁶). The

Gospel speaks of Jerusalem as 'the Holy City' (Mt 4⁵), describes the crowds praising the 'God of Israel' (Mt 15³¹), and shows us Jesus fulfilling innumerable Old Testament prophecies, among others that which ran: 'Say to the daughter of Zion, Behold! thy king comes to thee . . .' (Mt 21^{4f.}). The disciples of Jesus, not to mention His fellow-countrymen generally, are obsessed with particularistic sympathies. He is addressed as 'Son of David' (Mt 9²⁷ 15²² 21¹⁵, Mk 10⁴⁸ ||s, 11^{9f.} ||; cf. Mt 12²³), and 'Holy One' (or 'Son') of God, *i.e.* Jewish Messiah (Mk 12⁴ || 3¹¹ 5⁷ ||s, 8²⁹ ||s; cf. Lk 4⁴¹ || and 7¹⁶ ['God has visited his people']). After His resurrection, the two on the road to Emmaus confess that they had hoped that it would be He who was destined to redeem Israel (Lk 24²¹), and the Twelve inquire of Him whether that was the time when He would restore the kingdom to Israel (Ac 1⁷).

III. THE JUDAISM OF JESUS.

Such being the context within which the Gospel-story is told, we have now to inquire what was our Lord's own personal attitude, and firstly, how far it was characterized by a Judaistic particularism.

(a) Taking first those statements, whose historical truth we have no reason to doubt—we may begin with the fact that Jesus was born and brought up as a Palestinian Jew among Palestinian Jews, or, as Paul would have said: 'A Hebrew (sprung) from Hebrews.' He commences His public life with the clear, though unpublished, conviction that He is God's Messiah, *i.e.* a leader with a distinctively national rôle: He admitted at the end of His life that He was 'the king of the Jews' (Mk 15² ||s). He virtually confined His whole activity to Jewish soil. He chose twelve disciples, with evident reference to the number of the Hebrew tribes,² as is clear from His words: 'Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Mt 19²⁸=Lk 22³⁰ Q). He takes it for granted that the Jews as a whole are to be His disciples,³ and that the Gentiles are outsiders. Thus He often uses the word 'brother' in the sense of 'fellow-disciple' (Mt 7⁸⁻⁹=Lk 6^{41f.}; Mt 18¹⁵ (21^{f.})=Lk 17³⁴): both Q): and there is abundant evidence

² Harnack, *Mission*, Eng. tr., i. 38; Jacobs, in *Jew. Encyc.* vii. 162b.

³ See Mess, *Studies in the Christian Gospel for Society*, 19, 32; Gore, *The Holy Spirit and the Church*, 42-45, 61.

¹ G. B. Stevens, *Theol. of N.T.*, 37.

to prove that 'brother' on Jewish lips regularly meant 'fellow-Jew' as distinct from the alien Gentile (Ex 2¹¹ 4¹⁸, Nu 32⁶, Dt 10⁹ 15^{2f.} 17^{15.} 20 18² 23^{19f.} 24⁷, Jer 34¹⁴, Ac 2^{39.} 37 3¹⁷ 7² 22⁵ 28²¹, Ro 9³).¹ He is specially interested in the salvation of Zacchæus, 'forasmuch as even he is a son of Abraham' (Lk 19⁹), and the healing of the crippled woman, because she is 'a daughter of Abraham' (Lk 13¹⁶).² Lazarus, the beggar, is taken at death to Abraham's bosom (Lk 16^{22f.}). Again, Jesus counsels His followers to avoid characteristically Gentile shortcomings, such as worrying about the future (Mt 6³²=Lk 2³⁰ Q) and domineering over their subordinates (Mk 10⁴² ||s). The herd of swine which He handed over to the legion of demons was Gentile property (Mk 5¹¹⁻¹³ ||s). Once, when on Gentile soil He was appealed to by a Phœnician woman to heal her afflicted daughter, He hesitated to do so, on the ground that it was not right to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs (Mk 7²⁷=Mt 15²⁶). 'Dogs' was a fairly frequent Jewish term for Gentiles; and it is far-fetched to suggest that Jesus' hesitation was purposely assumed by Him in order to try the woman's faith.³ The Gentiles figure in Jesus' third prophecy of His death, as those to whom He will be handed over (Mk 10³³ ||s): in His great eschatological discourse they appear as rising in war, one nation against another (Mk 13⁸ ||s [? 'little apocalypse']: also Lk 21²⁵), and as destined to tread down Jerusalem and enslave the Jews for a certain appointed period (Lk 21²⁴).

¹ Cf. Hatch, *Organiz. of Early Christian Churches*, 44; Harnack, *Mission*, Eng. tr., i. 406 n.; Farrar in *Smith's D.B.*, i. 230 b. Many of Jesus' sayings about the extension of the Kingdom to outsiders of one sort or another have reference, not to the Gentiles, but to Jewish tax-collectors, prostitutes, and sinners (Mt 21³²⁻³³ 22⁹, Lk 18⁹⁻¹⁴; cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. 39 note 2). On the limited numbers of those who should enter the Kingdom, see Lk 13²⁴=Mt 7¹⁴: Shailer Mathews' objection (*Social Teaching of Jesus*, 200) is beside the point.

² Cf. The words which, according to the Gospel καὶ Ἐβραίων, Jesus addressed to the rich young ruler: 'fratres tui, filii Abrahamæ.'

³ Wendt, *Teaching*, ii. 198; Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. 39 top. Cf. the remarks of F. Heiler in *Der Katholizismus*, 32 f.: 'Auch in Jesu Seele liess dieser grosse Gedanke des Gottesvolkes tiefe Spuren zurück; auch in seinem Wirken offenbart sich diese jüdische Exklusivität . . . Das kananäische Weib . . . weist er mit der harten Bemerkung zurück: "Ich bin nur zu den verlorenen Schafen des Hauses Israel gesandt."''

With the leading Jews, on the contrary, Jesus was often on friendly terms: He is invited to dinner by a Pharisee (Lk 7³⁶), enters the house of another Pharisee—a ruler—to eat bread (Lk 14¹), looks upon the rich young ruler and loves him (Mk 10²¹; cf. Lk 18¹⁸ [ἀγαπᾷ]), and enters into friendly conversation with a sympathetic scribe, whom He declares in the end to be not far from the Kingdom of God (Mk 12²⁸⁻³⁴; cf. Lk 10²⁵⁻²⁸). He venerates the Jewish Scriptures, finding in them strength against temptation (Mt 4^{4.} 7. 10=Lk 4^{4.} 12. 8 Q), quotes the Mosaic commandment to honour father and mother as having Divine authority (Mk 7^{3f.} 13=Lk 15^{3f.} 6), and declares that heaven and earth should pass away before one fragment of the Law should do so (Mt 5¹⁸, Lk 16¹⁷, ? Q), and that men ought to have kept the weightier matters of the Law, and not to have left the lesser commandments—like those dealing with the tithing of herbs—undone (Mt 23²³ || Lk 11⁴² Q). He wore on the corners of His outer cloak the violet tassels which the Law required every pious Jew to wear, in order to remind Him of God's commandments (Mk 6⁵⁶=Mt 14³⁶, Mt 9²⁰=Lk 8⁴⁴; cf. Nu 15³⁷⁻⁴¹, Dt 22¹², Mt 23⁵).⁴ As for the Temple and its worship, Jesus venerates the sanctity of the place, resents its desecration (Mk 11^{11f.} ||s), and teaches habitually in its courts (Mk 12³⁵ 14⁴⁹, etc. ||s).⁵ He sends the cured leper to offer the sacrifices that Moses commanded, in connexion with his curing (Mk 14⁴⁴ ||s). At intervals during His ministry He visited Jerusalem on the occasion of the great national festivals (see Fourth Gospel, *passim*); and, whether the Last Supper was a Passover-meal or not, it is certain that Jesus *desired* to eat the Passover (Mk 14^{12f.} ||s; Lk 22¹⁵). Though comparing His own message to new wine, He yet declared: 'No one having drunk old wine wishes for new: for he says, The old is good' (Lk 5³⁹: not in the parallels).

(b) So far we have confined ourselves to passages

⁴ The exact force of Mt 11¹³ || Lk 16¹⁴ (? Q) in this general connexion is not clear. Cf. Heiler, *Der Katholizismus*, 26 f., and Lightley, *Jewish Sects and Parties*, 115-118.

⁵ Cf. Heiler, *op. cit.*, 30 f.: 'Dem durch das Gesetz sanktionierten Tempelkult auf dem Sion gegenüber nimmt Jesus eine ähnliche Stellung ein wie gegenüber dem Gesetz selbst. Mit seinen Volksgenossen teilt Jesus die ehrfürchtige Liebe zum Heiligtum in Jerusalem . . . Der Tempel ist wirklich Gottes Haus und Wohnstätte,' etc. See Lk 2⁴⁹.

of almost unimpeachable historical accuracy. We can hardly challenge the reliability of Q, while Mark and Luke, writing mainly for Gentile readers, would scarcely admit to their pages particularistic sayings that did not rest on good authority. It is different, however, with statements resting on the unsupported testimony of 'Matthew,' in view of the abundant traces which that Gospel shows of having been compiled under various doctrinal influences so strong as frequently to impair its trustworthiness on points of fact. The explanation of the data furnished by it is materially helped by the theory, recently put forward by Dr. Streeter, that its composition was meant to be a compromise between the Paulinist and Judaistic elements in the Church at Antioch, and that it was accordingly based partly on Mark (the Roman Gospel), partly on Q (the logia compiled by the Apostle Matthew), and partly on a Jerusalem collection of incidents and sayings (Streeter's 'M') produced during the period A.D. 45-65, when the Jewish-Christian leaders were in fierce conflict with Paul over the Gentile-mission and the Mosaic Law, and bearing distinct marks of that conflict in the form given to many of Jesus' utterances.¹ Most of the material peculiar to 'Matthew' probably comes from M: much of it is clearly genuine tradition; but some of its sayings can hardly have been spoken by Jesus, while they are easily explicable as anti-Pauline 'dicta' believed to have the Master's authority behind them.

(c) We find among the probably reliable excerpts from M much that simply confirms our previous conclusions. Thus Jesus assumes His followers to be simply pious Jews as such. He tells them what to do when they are fasting (Mt 6¹⁶; cf. Mk 9²⁹ v.l.), or when they are 'conscripted' by some government-official to transport baggage, etc. (Mt 5⁴¹). He warns them against offences punishable by the Jewish law-courts (Mt 5^{21f.}): He assumes that they will know and speak of each other as 'brothers,' i.e. fellow-Jews (Mt 5²²⁻²⁴. 47

[contrast Lk 6^{38f.}, 'sinners' substituted for 'Gentiles'] 18¹⁵⁻¹⁷; cf. Mt 25⁴⁰ 28¹⁰, Lk 22³²): He tells them not to pray like the Gentiles (Mt 6^{7f.}), who later on will hate them as His followers (Mt 24⁹: contrast the parallels). He calls Jerusalem 'the city of the great King' (Mt 5³⁵), i.e. of God, pictures His disciples offering their sacrifices at the altar (Mt 5^{23f.}), pronounces in regard to the oaths sworn by the Temple, the altar, and the sacrifice (Mt 23¹⁶⁻²²; cf. Heiler, *loc. cit.*), and pays the Temple-tax (Mt 17²⁴⁻²⁷).² The saying, 'Every scribe that has been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out of his store things new and old' (Mt 13⁵²), does not well fit its present setting, and probably refers, not metaphorically to the Twelve, but literally to Jewish scribes who listened sympathetically to Jesus' teaching.³ Again, when Jesus says to the Jews, 'The Kingdom will be taken from you and given to a nation producing the fruits of it' (Mt 21⁴³), He implies that He had previously regarded the Kingdom as the possession of the Jews (cf. Mt 8¹² ['sons of the kingdom'] and 13³⁸. 41).

(d) The following sayings, however, which are also peculiar to 'Matthew,' look very much as if they had been put into our Lord's mouth in the heat of the Jewish-Christian controversy with Paul: 'Whoever cancels one of the least of these commandments and teaches men so, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever does and teaches them, he will be called great in the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 5¹⁹): 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you clad like sheep; but inwardly they are ravaging wolves' (Mt 7¹⁵): 'Depart not by the road (leading) to the Gentiles, and enter not into (any) city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. . . . Ye will not have finished the cities of Israel before the Son of man has come' (Mt 10^{5f.}, 23):⁴

² The conversation of Mt 17^{26f.}, implying that Jesus and His followers are sons of God, while the Jews are foreigners, is remote from the thought of Jesus, and therefore probably a piece of early Christian, anti-Jewish polemic (see McNeile, *Matthew*, 258 f.).

³ McNeile, *Matthew*, 205 f.

⁴ Harnack, *Mission*, Eng. tr., i. 38; Wendt, *Teaching*, Eng. tr., ii. 197. The explanation of Mt 10²³ suggested above, viz. that the words represent the views of those Christian propagandists who, in opposition to Paul, advocated concentration on Israel in view of the proximity of the Parousia, seems far more

¹ Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 230-270. The theory has the merit of solving what Dr. Moffatt (*Introduction*, 255) has called 'the main problem of the gospel,' viz. the juxtaposition of particularistic and universalistic sayings. It also helps to explain why certain recorded sayings in 'Matthew' and Luke, though clearly parallel, are too dissimilar to be naturally assigned to a single source, Q: 'Matthew' either drew from M, or conflated M and Q, while Luke used Q only.

'I was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Mt 15²⁴).¹ 'Give not what is holy to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before the swine, lest they tread them down with their feet, and then turn and tear you' (Mt 7⁶).

(e) The following sayings are not so clearly anti-Pauline as those quoted above, but seem to represent rather the Judaism of the early Jerusalem Church than that of Jesus Himself: 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mt 5¹⁷): the Matthæan version of the passage about the narrow gate (Mt 7^{13f.}; contrast Lk 13^{23f.}): 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. All things therefore that they tell you, do and observe,' etc. (Mt 23^{2f.}): 'All ye are brothers' (Mt 23⁸): 'Pray that your flight be not on the Sabbath' (Mt 24²⁰).² The passage about appealing to the Church against the offending brother and treating him, if he refuse to hear, as a Gentile and a tax-collector (Mt 18¹⁵⁻¹⁷), may be regarded either (1) as a real saying of Jesus, in which He is simply referring to His disciples as Jews habitually assembling in a synagogue,³ or (2) as a piece of early Church-Law, ascribed to Jesus, but actually emanating from the times and probable than that suggested by Rev. T. H. Weir in *THE EXPOSITORY TIMES* for February 1926, p. 237.

¹ Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. 39, note 1. Observe that, in the Matthæan version of the story of the Phœnician woman (in contrast to the Marcan), Jesus does not actually go on to Gentile soil at all: the woman comes thence to Him (Mt 15^{21f.}; contrast Mk 7^{24f.}; cf. McNeile, *Matthew*, 230).

² Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. 39, note 2.

³ Here called ἐκκλησία, as was occasionally the custom (see Schürer, *Geschichte*, ii. 504f. note [Eng. tr., ii. ii. 58 f.], and Oman in Hastings' *Encyclop.* iii. 617 f.).

conditions after His death.⁴ The description of the Last Judgment in Mt 25³¹⁻⁴⁶ (sheep and goats) has difficulties of its own; but one plausible view is that it is an attempt on the part of the Early Church to explain on what principles the unevangelized Gentiles would finally be judged. The answer given in this passage is that they will be judged according to the way in which they have treated oppressed and needy Christians. We note that those judged are described as 'all the nations,' i.e. the Gentiles, and the recipients of their kindness or their neglect are described by the Son of Man as His 'brothers.' The description, in any case, presupposes the existence of many Gentiles who had never heard of Jesus.⁵

(f) Finally, it seems clear that Jesus did not give to the disciples any clear or definite instructions actively to evangelize the Gentile world, though doubtless (as we shall see in the next article) His view of the Kingdom really implied such an evangelization. Had He given an explicit charge, it would be very hard to understand why the Jerusalem-Church should have been so slow to take any steps in that direction, and should have even put hindrances in the way of it when it was at length seriously undertaken. Paul apparently knew nothing of any such general commandment.⁶

(To be continued.)

⁴ So, strongly, Heiler, *Katholizismus*, 42 f.

⁵ Wendt, *Teaching*, Eng. tr., ii. 349.

⁶ Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, i. 38, 40 f., also *Origin of the N.T.*, 45 f.; Wendt, *op. cit.*, ii. 348-351; W. Hobhouse, *The Church and the World*, 348-350; S. Mathews, *Social Teaching*, 201 top. See further on this point the second article.

Literature.

THE SCOTTISH LAYMAN'S LIBRARY.

FOUR new volumes of this series have just appeared. The first of the four in interest, and, probably, in ability, is *Principal Caird*, by the Rev. Charles L. Warr, minister of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. No one need shrink from this book in fear of a profound disquisition on Hegelian philosophy. The author was warned off this ground, the book being

designed for 'the ordinary laity.' The object of the author was the delineation of a portrait framed in the setting of an era. In both these respects he has been singularly successful. Indeed, one of the most admirable features of this biography is the description of the background on which the famous churchman lived his life. The times are sketched in with as much fulness as was possible in the space, and we see clearly in what conditions both of the nation

generally and of the Church in particular Principal Caird conducted his long, varied, and influential ministry in church and university. The influence of the Principal is described in pardonably exaggerated terms ('It was nothing short of the liberating of the fettered soul of a nation'), but such enthusiasm is not altogether a fault in a sympathetic biographer. There are two slight defects in the book. There ought to be an index for such a book. And perhaps the Disruption movement might have been referred to in more sympathetic or understanding terms.

This latter defect is remedied in the second of the four volumes, *Secession Memories: The United Presbyterian Contribution to the Scottish Church*, by the Rev. J. H. Leckie, D.D. Dr. Leckie is favourably known by a number of admirably written books, both in pure theology and in church history. He wields a light and interesting pen, and this new volume is packed full of interest. It is intended to sketch the rise and fortunes of the Church which began with the Erskines and ended in the generation that united with the United Free Church in 1900. This motive is carried out in a series of biographical sketches. In no better way could the theme have been so well developed, and in Dr. Leckie's hands it becomes a fascinating story. In particular one sees clearly why these secessions, which began generally as a testimony to tradition, grew to be really a fountain of advance and revolution. This book will provide edifying and delightful reading for many Scottish homes.

The other two volumes may be dismissed in fewer words, not because their merits are less, but because their contents are too varied to be concisely described.

The Church at Work, by the Rev. David Watson, D.D., is a description of the multifarious activities of the Church. And it is more. Dr. Watson has rightly allowed himself some liberty, and at many points is really dealing with the social and religious developments not of the Church, but of the Christian religion. Dr. Watson is widely known for his interest in social problems and the Church's relation to these. It is not surprising that he writes sympathetically of the changed attitude to such matters. The Church, he contends, has a real social conscience and a real social gospel and duty. It would surprise and confound many who speak as though the Church did nothing for the social well-being of the people if they read this book and dis-

covered how varied and widespread and fruitful these services are. This seems to us the best piece of work Dr. Watson has done.

Finally, there is a shrewd and sensible volume on the Book of Proverbs—*Salt and Sense; or, Gems from the Book of Proverbs*, by the Rev. W. S. Bruce, D.D. Dr. Bruce has written quite a lot, one of his best efforts being 'The Nor'-East.' The book on Proverbs is quite in line with that racy volume. The author is a wise and experienced parish minister, and has a knowledge of life that is both wide and deep. He was just the man to elucidate the wise and witty sayings of Proverbs. In a series of thirty odd chapters he has given us the wisdom of the ancient book on all sorts of subjects—the home, woman, sloth, friendship, the tongue, and so on. We commend the book to any who wish either to understand or to expound (or both!) the Hebrew collection of 'Salt and Sense.'

The publishers are Messrs. T. & T. Clark, and the price of each volume is 5s. net.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

Dr. T. H. Robinson, Lecturer in Semitic Languages of the University of Cardiff, already well known for excellent work on both Old and New Testament, has again shown his power to combine scholarship with popular exposition in *An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions* (Oxford University Press; 5s. net). His first-hand knowledge of India as well as his wide acquaintance with Semitic literature inspires the reader with a confidence, which is not disappointed, that the discussion will be based upon fact and not upon airy speculation. No man, of course, as Dr. Robinson admits, can have an intimate acquaintance with all the great religions, but he has submitted all his discussions to expert criticism, so that the general sketch is one on which we may confidently rely.

Among the subjects discussed are animism, animatism, polytheism, monotheism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, and Christianity. The beliefs presupposed by each system, especially of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, are sympathetically and succinctly set forth and their value appraised. The brevity of the treatment necessarily confines the discussion of each type of religion to its most salient characteristics—which is as it should be in an 'Outline'; but brief as the treatment is, it has body enough to be not only alive, but intelligible.

It is often, too, refreshingly frank : for example, of the creeds which enshrine the doctrine of three 'Persons' within the being of God, Dr. Robinson has the courage to say that they 'produced a formula which probably very few can claim fully to understand'; and there is an interesting hesitancy about the sentence, 'God suffers; that is *perhaps* [italics ours] the centre of what Christianity has to offer the world.' But against this has to be set the important statement that all sections of the Christian Church 'agree, however different in detail the theories may be, that it is the death of Christ which gives to Christianity its supreme message,' and that 'its universal, indeed its only possible, symbol is a Cross.' This competent book furnishes a fine initiation into the more detailed study of the history of the world's religions.

FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY.

A book which bears the name of Dr. Francis L. Patton, formerly President of Princeton University, cannot be called unimportant. And in point of fact the 'James Sprunt' lectures, which are published under the title *Fundamental Christianity* (Hodder & Stoughton; 8s. 6d. net), are, in their way, important. They are also interesting and a little bewildering. The general point of view defended in the book is that of traditional orthodoxy. Sin, for example, Dr. Patton seems to think, was pre-ordained: 'We may be sure that the entrance of sin into the world made no change in the plans of Providence, and was no surprise to the Almighty, being already embraced in the divine plan which left no place for contingency.' That is the pure milk of a Calvinism which religious thought has largely passed by. Similarly Dr. Patton has severe things to say of the Higher Criticism: 'It is not denied that a plausible account of Old Testament history can be made out by forced chronology, minute linguistic appreciation, and *a priori* arguments based on antsupernatural beliefs.' Dr. Patton also is completely sound on the Pauline theology, or perhaps we should say soundly traditional. Yet on the other hand with surprising breadth he repudiates the idea that belief in the verbal infallibility of Scripture is essential to Christianity. And, indeed, nowhere in the book does he commit himself to a very definite theory of inspiration. The Bible is the Word of God to him, and he accepts all its statements. Behind his

doctrinal beliefs it would seem necessary to have a belief in the verbal inspiration of Scripture, and probably Dr. Patton does hold this himself though he makes room in his charity for other views. There are five massive lectures in a fairly big volume, the subjects of which are 'The Theistic View of the World,' 'The Seat of Authority in Religion,' 'The New Christianity,' 'The Person of Christ,' and 'The Pauline Theology.' There are many good things in the volume, apt illustrations and epigrammatic definitions. But the weakness of the book, to write frankly, is that it is often gnawing at the old bone and getting very little meat off it. In the first lecture, for example, we have a great deal about antitheistic theories, but nothing very helpful. On materialism, for example, which presents a plausible case to youthful minds, Dr. Patton is singularly unhelpful. An inquirer would get far more help from the few pages on the subject in Professor Laird's little book 'Our Minds and their Bodies.' In the chapter on 'The Seat of Authority in Religion,' again, we have the three old subjects, Reason, the Church, and the Bible, discussed as sources of authority. But there is not much said that has not often and often been said. It cannot but be useful that the position of traditional orthodoxy should be expounded by so thoughtful a mind as Dr. Patton's. And no one can read this restatement and defence of old beliefs without sympathy and appreciation. There is a loyal faith in the gospel behind all these pages, and for that we are profoundly thankful.

METHODISM AND MODERN PROBLEMS.

In *Methodism and Modern World Problems* (Methuen; 7s. 6d. net), Mr. R. Wilberforce Allen 'indicates the attitude of Methodism to the more important problems—international, industrial, social, and ecclesiastical—which confront the world to-day,' and he is at the same time a critic, and, though a friendly one, often very searching. He deals with the Methodist attitude towards women and the Churches, the Christian Sunday, education, the use and mis-use of money, alcoholism, betting and gambling, Christian reunion and international relations. The book is full of ripe wisdom, and should be thought-provoking not only to members of the Methodist Church, but also to those who belong to other branches of the Christian communion.

In the chapter on the use and mis-use of money,

Mr. Allen is very definitely critical. 'It is idle to deny that money counts for far more than it ought to do in almost every branch of the Church, and a Methodist may be permitted to say that no communion is more open to criticism in that respect than is Methodism. . . . So far as the making of money is concerned it must suffice to say here that no Church ought to tolerate the presence of men who have become wealthy by taking advantage of the needs and misfortunes of others. Nothing would go further to alleviate discontent amongst the great "dispossessed" than the universal application of this principle. Reference to the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard will shew what is meant here. The men who were employed at the eleventh hour were paid the same wage as those who had been working all day. Why? They had been standing all the day idle, but only because no man had hired them. They were willing to work and so were paid for their willingness. Their unfortunate position was not exploited to depress the wages of others or their own. The identical application of this principle is obviously difficult to-day, but the principle itself remains and its application to modern industrial conditions would be revolutionary in its effect. It would rule out once for all the amassing of wealth out of the necessities and misfortunes of others, whether by underpaying employees or taking undue advantage of a temporary or permanent monopoly.'

What, Mr. Allen suggests, is needed to-day is a Church prepared fearlessly to proclaim and exercise its disciplinary powers in regard to those of its members who make money in ways that will not bear investigation in the light of our Lord's teaching.

THE PSALMS.

Professor J. M. P. Smith, who has done much to advance the scientific study of the Old Testament in America, has published a translation of *The Psalms* (Cambridge University Press; 15s. net). A brief introduction deals with questions of the date, the poetry, and the religion of the Psalter. In this he frankly says—and Duhm has committed himself to the same view—that the Psalter, like other hymn-books, is necessarily 'not representative of the best thought and the highest idealism of its age, but rather the ideas and ideals of the man on the street.'

While Professor Smith takes full advantage of such material as is available for the emendation of

the text, he does not make wanton use of it. His 'aim has been rather to accept the official text where it was susceptible of translation and made reasonable sense.' This explains the retention of the phrase in Ps 91⁶, 'nor the plague *that wastes at noon-day*,' where the true reading of the italicized words is, probably, 'nor the demon of noon'; it doubtless also explains the 'creatures small and great go there *like ships*' of 104²⁵, where many scholars emend 'ships' (without the 'like') into 'sea-monsters.' On the other hand, Professor Smith accepts the transposition of letters in 73^{24b}, which turns 'afterwards thou wilt take me to glory' into 'by the hand thou dost take me after thee.' The changes which he accepts or suggests are sometimes striking: for example, for 'we bring our years to an end like a sigh' in 90⁹, we get the different, but equally impressive picture, 'we come to an end: our years are like a cobweb wiped away.' Dr. Smith has not disdained the use of paraphrase, whose gains, he argues, 'are more than offset by its losses.' For 'fear' he sometimes substitutes 'revere' or 'be reverent' (52⁹ 130⁴); this secures a meaning which commends itself more to the modern mind, but perhaps at the expense of eliminating the 'numinous' idea involved in the word, which Otto has stressed. The translation is accurate rather than beautiful; whatever may be possible in America, it is doubtful if in Britain we should readily write, in so noble a psalm as 139⁽¹³⁾, 'Thou didst create my *vitals*.' But any one who desires to see what a very capable scholar, who has all the critical apparatus at his finger-ends, makes of the Psalter will find it here.

CAN GOD SUFFER?

Is God's essential nature a calm, sunlit sea, untouched by all the storms that beat upon us here, and with no sob nor moaning in it? Does His vision of the meaning of those sore dispensations that seem to us so inexplicable, and His foreknowledge of the end, preclude all agony and sympathy with suffering folk? The Archbishops' Doctrinal Commission of 1924 commissioned the Rev. J. K. Mozley, B.D., to lay before it what the Church has taught down the centuries on this; and, continuing his studies, he has now published the result, *The Impassibility of God* (Cambridge University Press; 7s. 6d. net). The work appears to fill a staring gap. Its author knows of only two monographs on the subject, one belonging to the third

century, and one to the late nineteenth! Even the Germans have left this field unworked, and the only authority upon the history of the doctrine in English is Principal Franks' article in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS*.

Mr. Mozley throws his net wide, and it has close meshes. From the Apostolic Fathers to the latest works all are examined, though Mr. Wells is passed by with the cold comment, 'it does not fall within the scope of a survey limited to *Christian* theology.' One agrees with the author that it seems a pity Abelard does not touch much, if at all, upon the subject, for Abelard to some of us is among the most human of theologians, not only in his frailties, but in his theologizings. The main impression of the book is how notable, seen against the historical background, is the present-day revolt against this doctrine of the Impassibility of God. Amid much that is disheartening, let us encourage ourselves where we justly can. And there is this to say, with truth. No generation has ever laid such stress on the self-sacrifice and suffering sympathy of God since Apostolic days.

The First Age of Christianity, by the Rev. E. F. Scott, D.D. (Allen & Unwin; 5s. 6d. net), is 'intended primarily as introductory to the study of Christian origins from the modern point of view,' though a hope is expressed 'that it may also be of service to more advanced scholars who wish to collect and harmonize their knowledge.' The field covered is very wide, including the Historical Background, the Gospel Record, the Life and Teaching of Jesus, the Primitive Church, and the Development of New Testament Thought. Dr. Scott's competence in this field will be questioned by none, and as a bird's-eye view the present book is a masterly piece of work. Vital points are touched with a sure hand, and the lights and shades are skilfully delineated. The style is singularly lucid, and no reader can at any point be in doubt as to the writer's meaning. Unfortunately the treatment of each topic is necessarily so brief that the impression is frequently given of bare assertions unsupported by any sort of proof. Some of the positions taken by Dr. Scott are very open to criticism, and could not fairly be classed as among 'the assured results of biblical scholarship.' On other points there may be noted an inclination

towards a conservative position. In regard to Jesus' premonition of His death, 'it has often been taken for granted that he commenced his work under bright auspices and never suspected till near the end that he would meet with disaster. But at no time can he thus have misjudged his prospects. The fate of John was always before his eyes, and he knew that sooner or later he must expect to suffer likewise.' In making the Cross central the Early Church neither obscured nor distorted the real teaching of Jesus. 'In placing the emphasis on the redeeming death the Apostles were true to the implications of Jesus' own thought. He believed that through his death, and not otherwise, he would attain to his destined place and accomplish his work.'

The Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, U.S.A., Dr. Rufus M. Jones, has written a second autobiography of his childhood. The first was called a 'Boy's Religion from Memory.' It passed through a number of editions, and now after the lapse of years Dr. Jones has decided not to have it reprinted, but rather to tell the story over again, with added material, and to this he gives the title *Finding the Trail of Life* (Allen & Unwin; 5s.). He sets out to do two things, and he does them well. The first is to show how a boy's life was formed. He insists that he was an average boy, and that the average boy is more 'concerned over his spiritual condition than he is over anything else, though nobody knows it or suspects it. . . . I am convinced, too, by my own life and by wide observation of children, that mystical experience is much more common than is usually supposed.' Dr. Jones' second purpose is to preserve the memory of the form of Quakerism, under whose influence he passed his childhood. One outstanding characteristic of it was the visits of itinerant Friends who came from far and near. They came with a 'concern' for those they visited, and when they came there was 'an "opportunity," or a "tunity", as we children named it, when we were too small to pronounce both ends of a long word. The choice of this word indicates a happy insight and shrewd wisdom on the part of those who used the word, for an "opportunity," put in plain, cold language, was nothing more or less than a religious meeting held in the home by the ministering Friend, who was "visiting families."'

A distinctive note of Quakerism, then, as now, was its silences. 'It does not seem necessary

to explain Quaker silence to children. They feel what it means. They do not know how to use very long periods of hush, but there is something in short, living, throbbing times of silence which finds the child's submerged life and stirs it to nobler living and holier aspiration.'

In *A Popular History of the Free Churches* (Congregational Union of England and Wales; 5s. net), the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., though dead yet speaketh to a younger generation. The History was first published during his lifetime, and has been frequently reprinted. This re-issue of a popular edition contains an additional chapter by the Rev. Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D., summarizing the history of the Free Churches during the past quarter of a century, a period associated with notable events and changes in the domestic concerns of all religious denominations and in their relations with one another. Dr. Peel has made admirable use of the limited space at his command. He gives a shrewd and sound estimate of tendencies theological, denominational, social, and political. 'It is probably true,' he says, 'that the Free Churches have less political influence at the moment than at any time during the past century.' But against this probable estimate may we not set the statement that 'there are not lacking those who would count the increased emphasis on the social message of the Church as the outstanding feature of the period.' Moreover, if we hear nothing in these days of Disestablishment of the State Churches, is it not because we have heard and seen so much more about the notable and successful efforts towards the union of long-severed religious denominations? The more prominent positions now conceded to women in the work of the Free Churches is likewise an outstanding advance on the first quarter of the century. They 'now not only do the work they have done so well before, but are trained as ministers, elected as deacons and officers, and called to equal service with men.'

Miss L. Wemyss Rhodes has written a number of charming little parables, which have now been published by the C. W. Daniel Company, with the title *On the Top of the Pillars* (2s. 6d. net). The little book is attractively bound in blue with gold lettering, and would make a suitable Christmas gift. The parables are short, but they are suggestive. This is what Miss Rhodes says on 'Black and White' (perhaps we might have found other par-

ables whose message was more necessary for to-day, as our danger surely is not dogmatic statement, but a lack of all clear-cut distinctions. Though this is true, so is the moral of 'Black and White').

"I want to paint a picture," said a small child. "Then, here is a paint-box," said a grown-up companion. Colours were quickly prepared, but after a few moments the silence was broken: 'This paint-box is no use.' "Why is that?" asked the elder one. "Because there are no black or white paints." "You do not need them." "I want to paint the clouds white," said the small child. "They are not white. Use shades of grey and mauve and yellow." . . . "The tree trunks are black. I have no black paint." "Surely," said the elder one, "you have noticed that green moss and the brown and silvery lichen on the bark and the golden patches of sunlight."

The street orator stood on a lorry and with a clenched fist struck the palm of his other hand. The flare from a naphtha lamp disclosed the dour features of a small crowd below him. The damp and darkness of a November night blotted out the surrounding square of sordid houses. "I tell you," said the orator, "that my opponent is totally in the wrong. He blinds himself to evidence that is patent to all. There can be no two opinions on the subject. Let us come to undoubted facts. I like to call a spade a spade. I will put the whole controversy before you so that you may see it in plain black and white."

The Rev. J. Paterson Smyth, B.D., LL.D., Litt.D., is widely known as one who possesses in the highest degree the gift of popular exposition. He can make his subject clear as daylight even to the man in the street. In publishing *Myself and Other Problems* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s. net) he desires it to be 'clearly understood that this is a series of simple studies for ordinary thoughtful laymen.' The problems dealt with are in three groups, first a group of moral problems, such as Conscience, Evil, and Pain, second a group of Biblical problems, the Creation and Fall, the Virgin Birth and Christ's Temptation, and lastly, problems of Myself when I am Dead. The treatment is admirably fitted to fulfil the writer's intention. He is a born teacher, who can see his subject from the point of view of those whom he would instruct. He can speak in the tongue of the plain man, and quicken his mind to fresh thought.

Best of all, he is a man of faith who, having found for himself the true and living Way, is able to speak sure words of guidance to fellow-travellers on the road.

Many attempts are being made to render the narrative of the Gospels in simple language, and some of them are highly successful. *The Story of Jesus, as told to the Children*, by Miss Mary Francis, L.L.A. (Lindsey Press; 1s. 6d.), can be awarded only a modified praise. On its own lines it is exceedingly well done. But unfortunately these lines do not always coincide with those of the Evangelists. The Nature miracles are refined away by rewriting the narrative. In the Stilling of the Storm, for example, Jesus is made to say 'Peace, be still' to the *disciples*. It was the disciples who said afterwards that Jesus had spoken to the waves. Again, the disciples only thought they saw Jesus walking on the sea, the fact being that (unknown to them, but apparently known to Miss Francis) they were quite near the shore. These are examples of the way narratives are sometimes twisted about. The most serious defect of the 'story,' however, is that the writer apparently does not believe that Jesus rose from the dead. In her last chapter, 'Afterwards,' Jesus is spoken of as existing only in the memories of His followers. There is much that is beautiful in this book, but it is not the Jesus of the Gospels that is depicted here.

Among the many Roman Catholic treatises that are at present pouring from a busy press, one of the most attractive is *The Four Mysteries of the Faith*, by the Right Rev. Monsignor Kolbe, D.D., D.Litt. (Longmans; 6s. net). No one could help being affected by the humility and modesty of the author. And, however alien his beliefs in detail may be from ours, at least we must praise the delightful style of his argument. He writes for Romanists, so that his book is not controversial. It is not even apologetic, except in so far as the exposition of a belief is an apologetic. The Four Mysteries are the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church, and the Sacraments. And if any one wishes to know how a Roman holds his main beliefs, and how they come to him, and how reasonable he counts them, he could not do better than listen to Monsignor Kolbe. His book has charmed and enlightened us, though it will not do much, we fear, to convince a non-Roman mind. It is well, however, that this particular angle of belief should be expounded, as it is being

expounded by so many competent hands, to the 'outsider.'

Among the multitude of books on Jonah a conspicuous place will be taken by the Rev. A. D. Martin's, entitled *The Prophet Jonah: The Book and the Sign* (Longmans; paper covers 3s., cloth 4s. 6d. net). It is not a continuous exposition of the prophecy; rather does it concentrate upon its leading thoughts—for example, its generous outlook, its intolerance of bigotry—and it does so with a distinction of style and an aptness of literary allusion which put it in a class quite by itself, and justify the high commendation which Professor Peake bestows upon it in a prefatory note. Of particular interest is the comparison of Jonah, as a sign, to Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner,' who was also a sign (to the wedding-guests); and equally interesting is the suggestion that, as a delicate satire upon the contemporary prophetic order and indeed upon post-exilic Israel as a whole, the book may be compared with 'Don Quixote,' which successfully laughed the foolish stories of knight-errantry out of existence. Perhaps the writer is at his best in the suggestive chapter on the Anatomy of Bigotry, and in his persuasive plea for a patriotism which is not blind to the excellences of other nations, blended with an internationalism which is something more than a vague and sloppy cosmopolitanism. Mr. Martin has given a thoroughly fresh and unconventional treatment of the book, which helps to reveal it as one of the masterpieces not only of ancient but of all literature.

America is rich in lectureships. The wealthy business man there seems to take it for granted that some of his superfluous money ought to be devoted to founding a college or at least a course of lectures. The 'Cole Lectures' are an example of this kind of foundation, and one fruit of it is the book by the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman on *Imagination and Religion* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net). It is difficult to say anything about the book except that it is all true and all very eloquent. The subjects dealt with are 'The Power of Imagination,' 'The Wonders of Imagination,' 'The Perils of Imagination,' 'Imagination in Man's Spiritual Growth,' 'Imagination and the Bible,' and 'The Christ of Romance.' The reading list appended to the lectures shows how widely the writer has read, and the lectures reveal evidence of much thought.

Perhaps the lecturer's eloquence leads one to undervalue his other qualities. It is difficult to go on speaking of one subject, especially a subject of this kind, and be very definite. But the lectures are really able and suggestive. The speaker is at his best in the discourse on 'The Christ of Romance,' in which he has much to say of Christ's method of teaching that is wise and helpful.

The ingenious and fertile mind of Dr. Rendel Harris has been at work on *The Early Colonists of the Mediterranean* (Manchester: The University Press; 1s. 6d. net); and in an argument of thirty-four pages he reaches the following conclusions: (i) there is evidence for South Arabian colonization in Egypt, (ii) there is evidence for Egyptian colonization in the Ægean and on the Syrian coast, (iii) there is evidence for Hittite colonies in Libya and in the Mediterranean generally, and Hittite migration may possibly even have reached the Rhine, for the Chatti referred to by the Romans may be none other than Hittites. The evidence for the Arabian colonization of Egypt consists of cowries, and still more of spices; for the Egyptian colonization of the Syrian coast the evidence is paper and papyrus products—notably Byblos, which was in all probability originally an Egyptian settlement or colony; while the migrations of the Hittites can be traced by a succession of salt-works. These fascinating conjectures are illustrated by much curious detail.

Another proof of the versatility of Dr. Harris is his *Rendering in Prose and Verse of the Twenty-Sixth Ode of Solomon* (John Rylands Library, Manchester; printed for private circulation). The verse rendering is naturally pretty free, but it is as fine as it is free. Here are two typical verses:

Could I once that music reach,
Once attain that sacred speech,
Once expound that wondrous Love,
Gladly then would I remove;
Gladly leave my finished quest,
Finding once His songs of rest;
This the fount of life for me,
This the river, this the sea.

A new translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been done by the Rev. F. H. Wales, B.D., and published by the Oxford University Press at the modest price of one shilling net. The title is simply

The Epistle to the Hebrews: Translation. The preface is a fine example of *multum in parvo*. It would be difficult to find two pages of print into which more facts and information have been packed. The translation is preceded by a brief analysis of the Epistle into seven sections. The rendering itself is scholarly and accurate, with no attempt to be 'modern.' We have tested it and found it not wanting. Here, for example, is the translation of ch. 13⁵⁴. The reader will see that it is correct at every point (even to the important 'we say' instead of 'we may say'): 'Let your manner of life be not money loving: being content with what ye have: for himself hath said—

*I will in no wise fail thee,
And I will in no wise forsake thee:*

so that being of good courage we say—

*The Lord is my helper, I will not be afraid:
What shall man do to me?*

That is even better (and more accurate) 'than Moffatt.

Preachers, and devout Christians generally, of a former generation, found Matthew Henry's famous commentary on the Bible a source of light and leading. Many Scottish homes of the pious sort possessed a copy and it was read diligently. We can hardly say that its usefulness is exhausted. But one of the urgent needs of to-day is a Matthew Henry suitable for our time, a Matthew Henry brought up to date. If some one with Henry's genius and insight could issue a Commentary, popular and yet scientific, with unction and in few words, he would be a benefactor. Failing this, in one volume, we have the thing done in many volumes by the 'Devotional Commentary,' the latest four volumes of which (up to the 42nd) comprise *1 and 2 Samuel* by the Rev. W. H. Rigg, D.D., Vicar of Beverley Minster; the second volume of the exposition of *Acts* by the Rev. Charles Brown, D.D.; and the *Epistles to the Colossians and to Titus* by the Rev. D. Dawson-Walker, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham. The expositors of Samuel and Acts follow a similar method. It is very much that of the Expositor's Bible, each chapter consisting of a lecture in which the teaching of a passage is discussed, the exegesis of words and clauses being worked into the discussion. This is a method very useful to preachers,

and on the whole perhaps, dealing with historical books, the most satisfactory. In both the cases before us the method is used by practised hands and with excellent results. Students and teachers, as well as pastors, will find the meaning and message of these books both expounded and applied to our own day with insight and felicity. The Commentary on Colossians and Titus is on different lines. It is on the model of the well-known expository studies of the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Moule. It is a word-by-word exegesis and running commentary, the words of Scripture being printed in black letters as they occur in the expositor's stride. This method is suitable peculiarly for the Epistles, where so much depends on the exact significance of the individual words. The general standpoint of the series is that of an intelligent orthodoxy, and the expositions are scholarly and devout. The Religious Tract Society is the publishing house, and the extremely small price of each volume is 3s. 6d. net.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is true to its name in issuing a little book by Canon J. M. Harden, D.D., LL.D., of St. Patrick's, Dublin—*An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (5s. net). For, scholars apart, the knowledge of its subject must be limited indeed. Brief sketches of the language, the history of the Ethiopic Church, its Bible, its liturgies and theology, its chronicles and philosophy leave no empty spaces in the crowded hundred pages. The Germans, we are told, tried during the War to wrest the land from its historic Christianity to Muhammadanism, surely one of the ugliest facts even of that distressing time. For the rest, practically all this literature is Christian and anonymous, and the great mass of it translation. The Ethiopic Bible has an odd look to our eyes. For has not its New Testament thirty-five books? And its Old Testament also appears unfamiliar. Dr. Harden reminds us that it is in Ethiopic alone that the whole of the Book of Enoch, and the like, has been discovered. Yet he is modest in his claims. This 'is in some respects a literature,' he says, 'which cannot awaken any feeling of lively interest, for it is to a very great extent devoid of that quality of originality which most of all inspires interest.'

in Thought and Prayer, by the Rev. Basil Matthews, M.A., and the Rev. Harry Bisseker, M.A. (2s. net). It was first published towards the end of 1919, and its object, it will be remembered, was to expound a special mode of approach to God—the path of fellowship in thought and prayer, and the principles on which that method rests. Given certain conditions, 'the unanimous judgment attained, whether it cover the whole or only a part of the problem under consideration, may be accepted with confidence as a revelation from God Himself.'

According to some writers, and notably Mr. J. S. Hoyland, M.A., whose 'The Race Problem and the Teaching of Jesus Christ' was reviewed recently in these columns, the present method and spirit in which history is taught are responsible for much of the misunderstanding, hatred, and conflict that torment the world to-day. He has set forth this thesis in his most recent book, *Faith and History* (S.C.M.; 5s. net). But the book contains a great deal more than this thesis. It is a very able and persuasive essay on the meaning of history, and especially on the fact that we can only understand, and therefore teach, history from a definitely religious standpoint. The real barrier against the 'suicide of the human race' is the proper training of the young. This includes a right view of history, not as the story of nationalities which have a pride and an interest to assert and defend, but as the development of a Divine world-purpose, within which each nationality has a contribution to make to the welfare of mankind. And so the teachers must become men of an 'international mind,' and this is possible only from a religious point of view. In supporting this conclusion Mr. Hoyland deals first with the different kinds of history teaching and the meaning of history. He then proceeds to trace this working of the Divine will in the evolution of Nature and of the human race. This leads to a section on the Incarnation and the place of Christ as realizing to the full God's great aim. The rest of the book is an unfolding of this line of thought as it is seen in the course of the world's historical development. And the book concludes with a sketch of a suggested history-course. We have been greatly impressed by the intellectual grasp and vision in this arresting book. It will inspire teachers and preachers, but it is a book that, read by the average citizen, would do much to spread a better attitude to the problems of world politics to-day.

There has been issued by the Student Christian Movement a cheap edition of *Christian Fellowship*

Broadcasting in Old Testament Times.

BY THE REVEREND B. VERNON BIRD, PEMBURY.

SOME of the customs met with amongst primitive peoples to-day are undoubtedly survivals from very ancient times, and afford suggestive hints of the explanation of passages in the O.T. One of them is the method adopted by natives of South Africa of sending news by relays of voices from hill to hill, over great distances, called by the British colonials 'Mountain Telegraph.' The natives are very reticent about it; but observant missionaries and traders have ample evidence of its existence; and, during over nine years' ministry at King William's Town, Cape Province, a district having ninety-three thousand native inhabitants, the present writer often heard of it; and once, in the District of Fort Beaufort, witnessed it. I was visiting the beautifully situated little 'town' of Balfour, near to the sources of the Kat River, and the mountain from which it is named, the Kat Berg. It was in May 1915. The Rev. J. W. Jordan, minister of a European Church at Balfour, took me for a walk up one of the spurs of the Kat Berg. It was a brilliant day. At the end of our climb, we stood and viewed a wonderful panorama of mountain valleys bathed in sunshine. The air was clear and still. In that atmosphere it is difficult to realize how far off landmarks are. An object a hundred miles away

as clear as it would be in England five miles away in 'good visibility'; and, in the heights, sounds can be heard at great distances. Jordan pointed out and named various bergs and kops and patches of forest. Presently I said, 'Let's listen to the silence.' In a few minutes, hearing a distant sound, as of a man's voice, the rich deep voice of a Kafir, I exclaimed, 'What's that?' We waited, and peered into the distance. Again the voice came. Jordan, whose eyes and ears were more accustomed to the country than mine, pointing away a little to the right, said, 'Do you see that long hill rising to a ridge, and then a *krantz*?' (precipice). 'Now look; just at the top of the *krantz* there is a speck. Wait, you may see it move.' I did; the speck moved a little along the edge of the *krantz*. Again I heard the voice, and it seemed to come from that speck. We waited in silence; and from another direction far away

to our left, the other side of the Kat Valley, came another voice of slightly higher pitch. The two voices continued, at short intervals, for some minutes and ceased; and the speck, which was a Kafir, disappeared. Jordan said, 'It's the mountain telegraph.'

Pictures from the O.T. poetical language came to my mind: 'Look, upon the mountains the feet of him that bears tidings, that proclaims "Peace"' (Nah 1¹⁵). 'How beautiful upon the mountains the feet of him that bears tidings, proclaiming "Peace"; bearing tidings of good: proclaiming "Deliverance"; saying to Zion: "Thy God reigns"' (Is 52⁷). On the hills around the 'waste places of Jerusalem,' the desolation that was once a city, are, poetically conceived, watchmen waiting day and night. They hear the news, and feel the thrill of it. 'The voice of thy watchmen. They lift up the voice, together do they sing.' To some who hear, it is too good to be true, or they too deep in despair to credit it—'Who hath believed what we have heard?' (53¹). Then again, Is 40³: 'A voice calling: "In the wilderness, prepare the way of Yahweh."'

In 1915 the South African Government was recruiting native labour for the expedition to German South-West Africa. A sturdy tribe of 'raw' Kafirs, the Imidushane, held a great Indaba at Tamara, District of King William's Town. Their chief, Menziwa, a heathen (though the word is objectionable), made a speech to his loyal tribe telling them of the Government's project of railway extension at Prieska, and said, 'We are told that we are wanted to make paths for the iron horse, flatten the hills, bridge the rivers, straighten crooked paths, fill up the holes.' Almost as if he had read Is 40⁴.

The call by mountain telegraph for preparation of the way for a royal traveller occurs several times in the O.T., e.g. 'Cast up, cast up, prepare the way' (Is 57¹⁴). In 62¹⁰ the call seems to be broadcast: 'Go through, go through the gates; prepare the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up an ensign for the peoples. See, Yahweh has proclaimed unto the end of the earth, "Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Look, deliverance has come."'

To return to Is 40. A voice says, 'Call out.' Another voice answers from the distance, of one who despairs of calling to a people hopeless and apathetic: 'What shall I call? All flesh is grass, and all its loveliness as the flower of the field: the grass withers, the flower fades: because the breath of Yahweh blows upon it; surely the people is grass.' The herald answers back: 'The grass withers, the flower fades: but the word of our God will stand for ever.' The answer gives hope to the desperate, and he calls back the summons: 'Get thee up into a high mountain, bearer of tidings to Zion; lift up with strength thy voice, bearer of tidings to Jerusalem.' In spite of the feminine participle in Heb. and in view of the masculine participle in LXX of this verse and in Heb. of 41²⁷, 'I will give to Jerusalem a bearer of tidings,' the R.V. version is to be preferred. The 'mountain telegraph' throws light upon Is 21^{6, 7}, where the watchman is to look and report what he sees, but also to 'listen diligently with great attention.' And 21¹¹, 'One calls unto me from Seir, Watchman, what of the night?' See also Hab 2¹.

When news was received, it speedily passed from mouth to mouth. In the song of Deborah we read

how news was passed by travellers riding over the country, just as it does to-day amongst the Kafirs; people sitting in their houses; friends meeting on the road; or at the well as they go to draw water (Jg 5^{10, 11}). The fateful news of the death of Saul was carried by messengers 'sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry the tidings unto the house of their idols and to the people' (1 S 31⁹). Just as David feared: 'Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.' Women were wont to take up news and carry it about (Ps 68¹¹): 'The women that publish the tidings are a great host,' or (see Briggs, *in loc.*) 'The women are heralding war.' News coming across the mountains is pictured in Ps 72³: 'The mountains are personified for the messengers who come over them, proclaiming from all parts the prevalence of peace and righteousness' (Briggs). See also Jer 4¹⁵⁻¹⁶ 31⁶, Ezk 7⁷ 19⁹. The custom that still prevails in South Africa may, for all the present writer knows, be found in many other lands where the air is clear enough for the voice to carry over long distances; as, in Britain in early times, beacon fires carried warnings over the land from hill to hill.

Recent Excavations in Mesopotamia, 1918-1926.

BY S. LANGDON, M.A., PH.D., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND
DIRECTOR OF THE OXFORD AND FIELD MUSEUM EXPEDITION AT KISH.

THE occupation of the historic lands of Babylonia and Assyria by the British Army was one of the few beneficent results of the Great War. The opportunity afforded by the transfer of Mesopotamia from Turkey to Great Britain was at once utilized by the British Museum in 1918, and the War Office directed Dr. Campbell Thompson to explore the region of Nasiriyah, at once, before hostilities had ceased. The two principal sites in this area are Ur and Eridu, the former being the ancient Sumerian city of the Moon-god *Sin* or *Nannar*, and the latter the equally ancient seat of the cult of the Sumerian Water-god and patron of philosophy, *Ea* (the *Ôannēs* of the Greek writers on Babylonia) or *Enki*. In the autumn of 1918, Dr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum received a similar commission for the same

sites; both were only temporary and tentative explorations of this important area, and of their results I first give account.

Brief mention should be made of the *Excursion archéologique en Mesopotamie*, by Le Comte Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort, a valiant soldier who fell at Verdun in 1916. His explorations at Ur and Eridu in 1913-14 are recorded from notes left in the hands of Charles Virolleaud, and are published in *Babyloniaca*, Paris, 1923, vol. vii. pp. 105-116. He gave a detailed geographical account of the country along the Euphrates from above Babylon to the famous Muhammadan city Nedjef, and from Nedjef to Muqayyar (Ur) and Abu Shahrain (Eridu), where the Euphrates reached the sea in ancient times. He remarks on Ur and Eridu that the ruins of their

stage towers are remarkably well preserved. At Ur he found natives digging for and finding cuneiform tablets. Four miles south of Ur, beyond a low sand ridge, lies the wide desolate basin known as Solébié, in the midst of which rise the ruins of the famous city Eridu. He gives a vivid account of the Arab tribes of this area, and especially of the powerful Muntefiks, who are said to have come from Mecca and whose sheikh founded Nasiriyah, the most important city in this region at the junction of the Euphrates and the old Sumerian canal, which joins the Tigris and Euphrates, now the Shatt el Hai. A good description of Eridu is given by this intrepid traveller, and also of the Roman fortress Qasr el Gesayem at the extreme southern side of the great basin on the edge of the Arabian desert. It is regrettable that this cultured Frenchman passed away in the full vigour of youth, before the great revival of Mesopotamian excavations initiated by British scholars after the War.

Eridu, the scene of Thompson's principal excavations, like Ur, its neighbouring city, fourteen miles to the north, is a foundation of prehistoric times, and though never the seat of a ruling dynasty, it, with Nippur in central Sumer, was one of the two great centres of Sumerian theology, and its Water-god counted as the third member of the Sumerian trinity: *Anu*, the Heaven-god of Erech, *Enlil*, the Earth-god of Nippur, and *Ea*, the Water-god of Eridu. It is not surprising, therefore, that sherds of pottery in black and red painted designs were found both on the surface and in trenches here. Thompson and Hall established the existence of an early Sumerian period of painted ware (c. 3500 B.C.) in Babylonia for the first time, and the fact was further confirmed by Hall at Ur and the neighbouring site, Tal-al-'Ubaid. In fact, the discovery of fine painted ware is one of the most remarkable features of recent excavations in Mesopotamia. It was to be followed by a great discovery of complete vessels of this ware at Jemdet Nasr in 1925-26 by the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition, and at 'Ubaid by the British Museum and Philadelphia Expedition in 1923-24. We now know that, before the real political history of the Sumerians begins (c. 3000 B.C.), they had long been master-craftsmen in the ceramic art in the entire region of their early occupation from Assyria in the north to the Persian Gulf. For some unknown reason this great art passed away and the skill of the sculptor takes its place in the period of their best culture

(3000-2000 B.C.). At Eridu the city wall is of limestone, a unique feature of Babylonian archaeology; for stone is rare in the valley of the two rivers. The ruins of its stage tower in the northern end of the city rises above the line of the wall to a height of eighty feet, and was known to the Sumerians as *E-unir*, 'the building of admiration.' At Ur the stage tower *E-lugalmałgasidi*, 'building of the king who directs justice,' also stands on the northern side of the city. Every great temple of Babylonia and Assyria had its stage tower, and at Kish there are still two of them standing as they were left by the early Sumerian masons, who employed small biscuit-shaped bricks. Wind and rain and spoliation by natives in search of bricks for building houses have destroyed the upper stages of every stage tower in the land. Only the bottom stage, and in some cases, as at Ur, Barsippa, and Kish, remnants of the second, and less often the third, stage remain. In early times they consisted of four stages only, and of this type were the towers of Eridu and Ur.

Thompson noted the marble staircase of the tower of Eridu on the S.E. side previously found by Taylor (1854) and exposed a portion of this face. This staircase is built at right angles with the S.E. face of the *ziggurat*, as is the central stairway of the N.E. side of the *ziggurat* at Ur. He sank pits in every part of the mound to determine the stratification and proved its very great age, and that the place ceased to be of any importance after the time of Hammurabi (twenty-first century B.C.). No plan of the stage tower and temple (Esira) of Ea has yet been made. Hall made careful excavations of Sumerian houses in the residential quarter and found their walls faced with white plaster, and sometimes painted with red and white stripes three inches broad. A great deal of attention is given by both excavators to the types of pottery at Eridu. Thompson visited several mounds east of Eridu, namely, Murajib, Tuwaiyil, and El-Lahm, and established their great age by pottery sherds from these sites. The ancient names of none of these ruins could be determined.

The best discovery of these preliminary expeditions was made by Hall at a small mound four miles west of Ur, where a fine early temple of Ninhursag, goddess of child-birth, was unexpectedly found. His work was latterly completed by Mr. C. L. Woolley. This is the first large building of plano-convex brick masonry excavated in Mesopotamia,

although in the season of 1923-24 Mr. Mackay and Colonel Lane discovered a larger and finer one at Kish. The 'Ubaid temple was rebuilt by Dungi, king of Ur (2391-2344 B.C.). So far as we now know, the great city of Ur possessed no temple to the great earth-mother goddess, and it is possible that this site nearby was chosen for her temple and cult. Here was found the oldest known historical inscription (c. 3100 B.C.) of *A-an-ni-pad-da*, second king of the first dynasty of Ur, and a torso of an early Sumerian statue of a certain Kuril of Erech. On the south-east side of this temple, near a stone stairway, Hall and Woolley discovered a great horde of copper objects, revealing the astonishing skill of Sumerian metal workers. From Hall's work comes the remarkable large copper imitation of the well-known heraldic emblem of various Sumerian cities, a lion-headed eagle grasping with its talons two fine stags in deep relief, their heads and spreading antlers being attached free from the monument. Friezes of copper bulls and others of beautiful white limestone and shell inlay, representing agricultural scenes, lay in fragments at the entrance of the temple. We found similar inlay work both outside of and inside the old Sumerian palace of Kish. This fine inlay work of 'Ubaid and Kish is clearly from the same period and the same school of craftsmanship. Here again, as in the case of the ancient painted ware, we have a delicate success in art, which suddenly disappears for ever in the long history of peoples. It is precisely this inexplicable and disturbing feature of human history that makes excavation and archaeology an invaluable branch of modern science.

Near the temple to the south was found an old Sumerian residential quarter abandoned for a cemetery at an early period. Here were implements of the Neolithic period, clay sickles (set with flint teeth at Kish), stone corn grinders, and much painted and incised pottery. The bodies were wrapped in reed mats and laid in the earth without other covering, a custom characteristic of the early period. Later burials of the classical Sumerian period are frequently narrow brick tombs in which the bath-shaped clay coffins are placed. These tomb burials were also found at Ur. The new element in archaeology here is that the burials in clay coffins appear to be as early as the twenty-fifth century.

In 1922 begins the period of more consecutive excavations by fully equipped and financed expeditions. Both are joint organizations, British and

American. The British Museum and the University Museum of Philadelphia sent out Mr. C. L. Woolley with a staff to continue the work at Ur; Oxford University (with the support of Mr. Herbert Weld, Hon. D.Litt., Hon. Fellow of Queen's College) and the Field Museum of Chicago sent out Mr. Ernest Mackay to excavate the ancient city of Kish, eight miles east of Babylon. Both expeditions have worked continuously for the past four seasons and both have again returned for a fifth season (1926-27).

Ur is a large oval mound with long axis north-south (160 rods), and short axis east-west (120 rods). The sacred area, on which stood the massive stage tower and temples of the Moon-god (Sin) and his consort (Ningal), as well as the palace of the kings of Ur (Ehursag), the convent, temple library, and court of justice, together with other buildings connected with the temple service, lies in the north-western section. Its enclosing double wall, traced by Hall and Woolley, contains chambers communicating with the platform on which stood this enormous complex of buildings. This is known as the *temenos* area in all Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian cities. It is an immense walled rectangle, 823 feet on the N.W. end, 650 feet on the S.E. end, 1312 feet on the S.W. side, and 1246 feet on the N.E. side. On the N.W. corner of this area is another higher terrace and enclosing wall, on which stand the stage tower, the temple of Ningal, wife of the Moon-god, just south of the tower, and temple service buildings to the north of the tower. At each west and north corner of the *ziggurat* or tower platform are heavily walled fortresses, and the plan of defence is completed at the south and east corners by great buildings, the temple of Ningal and the heavy walls of the shrine Edublalmah. The entire *temenos* wall is named Etemennigur, but Mr. Woolley believes that this name applies to the great terrace wall of the *ziggurat* platform.

Dr. Hall cleared the S.E. side of the great tower in 1918-19 and determined the dimensions of the lower stage, which, like all Sumerian stage towers, is orientated with its corners to the cardinal points, and so is the sacred *temenos* area and the tower terrace. The stages of these towers are usually square, but Elugal-malgasidi at Ur is rectangular, 130 by 190 feet, the long sides being N.E. and S.W., agreeing in plan with the *temenos* area. We also found the ground plan of the tower of the War-god's temple at Kish slightly rectangular, 185 by 198 feet. On the N.E. side three long stairways, steps in stone

with brick ramps, lead up from the terrace to the platform of the second stage ; two of them are built parallel with the N.E. face of the lower stage from the north and east ends, and the central stair is at right angles with the face as at Eridu, and probably at Kish. This construction, as it stands, is largely the work of the great kings of Ur in the twenty-fourth century, but it has been repaired by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunidus in the sixth century. The tower has only four stages, and if deductions can be made from quantities of blue glazed bricks of Nabunidus, the top stage is really a shrine (*shahuru*), built as a sleeping chamber for the god and goddess of Ur. The face of the bottom stage is covered with a coating of black bitumen. East of the tower is a great sunken court surrounded by chambers : its N.W. wall is faced with panels and attached pillars, and its whole face is whitewashed.

The great shrine of the Moon-god (Sin) and his consort Ningal, known as the temple Nunmah, 'house of the far-famed prince,' was found on the *temenos* platform below the east corner of the *ziggurat* platform. Its two chapels for the god and goddess are in good state of preservation, and many of its service chambers could be planned by Woolley. The temple had been completely reconstructed by Nebuchadnezzar, who razed many chambers before the shrines of the N.W. side, and laid down a walled court, obviously for liturgical and processional services. The brick pedestals for the statues of god and goddess were found at the back of their chambers. Reparations by Cyrus, the Mede, were also in evidence here. The pavement of a side chapel is laid in mosaics of white shell on bitumen, and beneath a pavement of Cyrus lay a horde of fine jewellery and precious stones.

Special mention must be made of two buildings where discoveries of the utmost importance were made, namely, the temple of Ningal on the tower terrace and the great rectangular building on the *temenos* platform just S.E. of the terrace, known as *Egepar*, the convent, with its magnificent shrine Edublalmah at the north end. This special temple of Ningal, whose cult in this temple is distinguished from her cult in Enunmah (as the consort of Sin), apparently represents the cult of the great virgin goddess Ishtar or Innini, the Sumerian Venus. It had been completely remodelled by Nabunidus. The fore-hall and inner shrine, the side chapels and the great adjacent court of this royal builder were first planned, and then removed. Below this lies

the fine original building of the kings of Ur. In the court of *Egepar* lay the fragments of a magnificent stone stela, sculptured in bas-relief on both sides. It is the work of Ur-Nammu, founder of the last Sumerian dynasty of Ur (2409-2390 B.C.). In various registers he is represented standing before his god and goddess, Sin and Ningal, and pouring water into a great pot in which stands a small tree. The god holds an adze, measuring rod, and coiled line with which Mr. Woolley compares the vision of Ezekiel, when he received plans from his God concerning the new temple in Jerusalem. The stela actually represents Ur-Nammu proceeding to build a temple ; he carries a pick, basket, trowel, and mason's implements, and follows his god to his work. In another remarkable register of this stela a winged angel is seen descending from heaven toward Ur-Nammu. The angel pours water (?) from a bowl, which descends in a stream to a vase (?), held in the outstretched hands of Ur-Nammu. Gudea, governor of Lagash of the twenty-sixth century, tells of a similar vision which he received from his gods concerning the building of the temple E-ninnû to his god Ningirsu, and this has already been compared to the vision of Ezekiel by the Hebrew scholar, the late Dr. G. B. Gray. The stela, sadly incomplete, has also a liturgical scene on which two musicians beat a great drum (*balag*), a scene previously found at Lagash. On the S.E. side of Ningal's temple runs a fine paved street leading up to a gate house on the east corner of the terrace platform, by which one enters the court of the massive shrine Edublalmah and the convent *Egepar*. South of this street opposite the Ningal temple was found Ehursag, the palace of the kings of Ur. 'Here, beneath the late pavement, the excavators came upon three brick boxes containing small clay statuettes of priests. Their priestly robes are imitations of a huge fish, symbol of the water god Ea, deity of purification, who cleanses from all sin. A bronze relief, long since known in Paris, represents two priests wearing this robe, and they actually stand at the head and foot of a patient in the act of driving out the seven devils. Such is the ancient heritage of priestly magic, which still survives in dissembled form, ever a powerful appeal to the religious imagination of man through the ages, the priest commissioned by divine ordination wears the symbol of his mystic warrant to purge mankind from his sins.

The massive shrine Edublalmah is called in the inscriptions found there 'the place of (Nannar's)

judgements,' and has been described by the excavator as the 'Hall of Justice.' Many other cities had also their Duplalmah, and from hordes of tablets found in adjacent rooms of this building, together with the natural meaning of the name 'far-famed house filled with tablets,' it is certain that the place was a kind of college and administrative building. The name of the entire building, including the massive shrine and forehall with court, is *Egepar*, known to have been a convent, where the high priestess resided. No less a personage than Nabunidus, king of Babylonia, caused his daughter to enter as high priestess of Nannar, the Moon-god, here. In the older building of the kings of Ur, two vaulted doorways looked out from the wings of the sanctuary, and show remarkable skill in the construction of the arch. Lane also found at Kish, in a very ancient Sumerian palace, a long vaulted drain, and in the palace of the kings of Kish was a vaulted kiln or oven.

A fine marble head of a woman of the best period of Sumerian art was recovered in Ehursag (?); the delineation of the features is not surpassed by anything in Greek sculpture, and is comparable to the wonderful statuette of a Sumerian woman (twenty-sixth century) found at Lagash. Both wear the same broad-brimmed turban with hair rolled in large chignons. This was erroneously taken for the head of the goddess Ningal, but of course it cannot represent a goddess who would wear the horned tiara. In 1925-26 the excavation of the Ningal temple was completed, and religious and grammatical texts were found, together with a horde of jewellery and a fine alabaster stone, carved with a boating scene. Special mention should be made of the temple kitchen, whose oven, sinks, and stone hand-mills were found in remarkable preservation, such that Mr. Woolley was able to restart the fires and make a photograph of the kitchen staff preparing a dinner and drawing water from the kitchen well. From this building comes a good stone statuette of a seated woman handsomely dressed in the style of the classical Sumerian period; a spacious and elegant flounced cloak falls over the body to the feet, and she wears a close-fitting necklace of several strands. It is precisely of the same style as the bas-relief figure of a Sumerian lady on a stone basin of Lagash. Remarkable is the sculpture of a goose on the side of her low stool. This, again, is erroneously defined as a figure of a goddess, and described as the goddess Bau.

It will be seen from this fragmentary review of the excavations at Ur, that this expedition has done a careful and valuable piece of work in exposing the temple plan of one of the greatest religious cults of antiquity. We now have before us very definite knowledge about the complicated temple constructions of the cult of the Moon-god of Babylonia, where the kings of the last powerful Sumerian dynasty ruled for a century over the destinies of Western Asia, and spread their culture to the far lands of Assyria; Cappadocia, and Syria.

Of the four seasons of the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition at Kish I can write with more personal touch, as I was interested in this undertaking from the time when Dr. Herbert Weld first made his offer to promote excavations in Mesopotamia. This cultured patron of learning, himself an admirable Orientalist, travelled in Mesopotamia in the spring of 1922, visiting various sites and endeavouring to secure for Oxford the most valuable inscriptions found by the natives. Among the treasures which he secured is the now famous Weld Prism of the Ashmolean Museum, which is a compilation of all the Sumerian and Semitic dynasties by a scribe who lived at the end of the dynasty of Isin. Beginning with mythological names of the ten kings who lived before the Flood, the scribe brings his lists of kings down to the end of the reign of Sin-magir (2098 B.C.). This and another tablet secured by him gave us at last the names of the ten antediluvian kings corresponding to the ten antediluvian patriarchs of Hebrew tradition, and confirmed, what was already known from Berossus, the Sumerian origin of the Hebrew tradition; it assigns a period of 456,000 years to the antediluvian period, and the Hebrew reduction of this period to about 1500 years is inexplicable, showing little knowledge of the great antiquity of man and of the remote period of the origins of civilization as now revealed by the excavation of Kish. Historical traditions agree in making Kish the seat of the first kings after the Flood, and it remained the principal capital of northern Sumer until Sargon of Agade (2752 B.C.), after which it continued to be a great metropolis down to the Persian period. It is of far greater antiquity than its later rival Babylon, eight miles away, on the new course of the Euphrates. We found the ruins of Kish to consist of mounds scattered over an area nearly five miles long from west to east. The old course of the Euphrates passed through it

dividing the city into eastern and western Kish. The occupations of both sides of the river are equally ancient, but the earliest Sumerian buildings are much better preserved in the more extensive eastern area.

The eastern ruins are now known by the Arabs as Ingharra, and the western ruins as Tal-al-Uhaimir ; the former lies a mile south-east of the latter, but there is another great mound at the eastern end beyond Ingharra, named Abu Sudairah ; the buildings in this mound have not been determined. Beneath the many huge and smaller mounds of Ingharra lie the principal temple of the great mother-goddess of the Sumerians, Ninhursag, the ancient palace of the powerful kings of Kish, and many other unidentified temples of various deities. The huge ruins at Uhaimir cover the temple of the War-god of the Sumerians, Emeteursag, where the War-goddess Ishtar also had a chapel and cult.

Mr. Mackay began excavations at Emeteursag in 1922, and excavated the south-eastern side of the *temenos* platform, and exposed the south-eastern and south-western sides of the stage tower. Only the lowest base of this tower can now be traced, but there are remnants of two or more superior stages and it is still in comparatively good state of preservation. As at Ur the *temenos* walls contain rooms, communicating with the platform, on which stand the *ziggurat* and temple. A corridor runs round the base of the tower, communicating with court chambers, but its communications with the large temple on the north-east side have not been determined. Stamped bricks of the principal Babylonian restorers of the tower and temple, Samsu-iluna, Adad-apal-iddin, and Nebuchadnezzar abound, and the additions which they made to the facings of the walls and to the platforms are perfectly dated by them. The early plano-convex levels were reached in deep trial trenches and some painted pottery was recovered. Fragments of a large diorite stela of Hammurabi have been found in the clearings in almost every part of the mound ; the fragments recovered are all inscribed in Sumerian, but nothing can now be pieced together to discover the contents of the text. Considerable work was done that season on the extensive residential quarter of western Kish, where a few cuneiform tablets, pottery of the age of Samsu-iluna, and copper weapons of the same period, were found. The best object recovered here is a perfect bone stylus, the

only example now known of the instrument employed for writing the cuneiform script. A discovery made early in the second season by Colonel W. H. Lane, who had joined Mr. Mackay in October 1923, altered the plans of our excavations, and the scene of activity was shifted to eastern Kish, to which we have devoted our principal resources for the following three years. Two plano-convex buildings were detected in low unattractive mounds ; one near the Ninhursag temple area, and one in the open plain almost a mile to the north, but evidently inside the old city walls. The original palace of the early kings of Kish appears to have been the great building which Mackay and Lane excavated near the temple and stage tower in eastern Kish. Two full seasons were spent on this site, and a complete plan of it has been made. Its principal feature consists in a spacious open court on the south-west corner, bounded on the eastern side by a fine alcoved wall, which is broken by a wide flight of brick steps at the back of a series of receding buttresses. This wall is the western face of a wing of the palace, and the steps lead up to the level of the rooms from the court. In the débris behind this wall lay fragments of a fine slate plaque, inlaid with white limestone figures, showing the king of Kish bringing captured kings to his city. The northern side of the court is a straight-faced wall, before which runs a heavy sleeper wall mounted by heavy round brick pillars. The discovery of this wall of pillars was a revelation in early Sumerian architecture. The plan is somewhat similar to that of the sunken court found at Ur of a much later period. The panelled whitewashed wall, decorated with attached pillars on the north-west end of the court, has been mentioned above. Parallel to this wall, but at a much greater distance away than stands the pillared wall of Kish from the face of the palace, runs a low wall on which Woolley believes wooden pillars to have been set. But the supposed pillared wall of Ur is only a conjecture, though a probable one, whereas the pillared wall of Kish was actually found in good repair, and its great antiquity is indisputable. Photographs of the fine palace court have been repeatedly published in the press and in the writer's *Excavations at Kish*, plates ix.-xii., where the evidence can be plainly seen. In a chamber behind this court wall lay fragments of another slate frieze, inlaid with white limestone figures of sheep, goats, and milking scenes of the same excellent technique as the inlaid frieze of

Tal-al-'Ubaid. When Mr. Mackay completed the excavation of this large building in 1924-25 it was found to consist of two groups, which do not communicate with each other. One is characterized by a long hall through the long axis of which runs another wall of pillars; at one end of this wall a large bitumen-lined basin is let into the pavement, apparently for the purpose of washing feet before entering the royal chambers. Characteristic of the adjoining rectangular complex of chambers is a spacious court with doors communicating with rooms on every side. To our great disappointment the sculptures and inscriptions, which were undoubtedly stored here, have been totally despoiled by the conquerors of Kish. The place was abandoned for a cemetery already in early Sumerian times, and from these graves come the best archaeological discoveries made there, throwing a great light upon ancient Sumerian beliefs and customs. Buried with the dead were entirely new types of jars and dishes, as yet unique in the history of pottery. The tall water-jars have wide imitation handles on which is depicted the bust of the great goddess Ninhursag of the neighbouring temple. It is a mute symbol of their trust in the mother-goddess, who ever prayed for man before the gods, and signifies their last hope in her intervention for the soul of man, when he should at last stand before the gods of the lower world to receive judgment at the hands of the terrible god of *Arallû*. Copper vanity cases lay beside the bodies of women, together with their beads and copper hair-pins mounted in lapis lazuli; copper weapons of men who had warred on behalf of Kish were found in abundance in their graves.

The writer was present during the season of 1923-24 and devoted himself to excavating a large mound in eastern Kish, one of the residential quarters from the twenty-second century to the age of Nebuchadnezzar. A large number of streets and houses were exposed, and many hundreds of tablets, chiefly grammatical and contracts, were recovered. The tablets are sadly broken but often valuable. One of them contains observations of the risings and settings of Venus for the first six years of the reign of Ammizaduga, king of Babylonia (1921-1901 B.C.). In the third season my work at this site was taken over by Father Burrows, S.J., whose discoveries consist in the same kind of material. A beautiful silver statuette found by him outside a clay coffin shows for the first time a

Babylonian lady dressed in the ornate fashion which obtained in the age of Nebuchadnezzar.

In 1925-26 I again rejoined Mr. Mackay, who now turned his whole attention to the vast temple complex of Hursagkalama, which has two stage towers, built in the old Sumerian period of plano-convex bricks, and never repaired by any later ruler. This is strange indeed; for these towers of unbaked bricks must have been in ruins when Sargon of Agade rebuilt an unidentified temple at the north-west side of the larger tower. The north-west side and part of the south-west side of the larger *ziggurat* were exposed. Its huge dimensions are surprising, its base being almost as large as the tower of Babylon. The temple Hursagkalama was located, and the fine restoration by Nabunidus about half exposed. Its uncovered walls faced with false columns and T-shaped recesses now look down upon the desolated plain from their ancient hill and can be seen for miles by the approaching visitor. Beneath this late building lies the older Sumerian temple so frequently mentioned in the liturgies of Babylonian temples. As we cleared the débris between the north-west face of the tower and the south-west face of the older temple, whose identity remains unknown, a good headless statuette of a priest or official of the old Sargonic period was found; it bears a cartouche of a Semite *Ali-ilum* son of *Sarrinna*, who dedicated it to a deity of Kish. The clearance of both this temple and of Hursagkalama will be the task of the coming season. After the well-preserved building of Nabunidus shall have been exposed and planned, it must be removed and the underlying ancient temple dug out.

My own work of the last season was almost exclusively confined to the excavation of a small site seventeen miles north-east of Kish in an indescribably desolate region. No report with plans and photographs of this remarkable site has been made, but I shall briefly describe the salient results. Attention was drawn to this place in 1924, when Arabs brought into our camp complete examples of black and red painted pots as well as clay tablets inscribed in pictographic Sumerian writing. Even the small collection of painted ware, obtained in this way by Mackay, constituted the first important group of such pottery ever recovered in Mesopotamia. I at once obtained concession of this place from the Government and excavated the site in 1925-26. The mound is called *Jemdet Nasr* by the Arabs, and is

a small L-shaped ruin only ten feet above plain level at the highest point, sloping gradually away into the surrounding detritus of the plain. The place is called *Shu-nun-(ki)* on the tablets, and perished in fire at a period more remote than all historical memories of the Sumerian scribes. Here it lay in its ashes and wind-swept débris throughout the ages. Consequently the remnants of the oldest civilization of the valley lay undisturbed by later builders. Only one large building, apparently a palace, stood here; the remainder of the town consists of ruined houses. I cleared this building completely and found a great quantity of painted ware, some of which is in perfect condition. The designs are almost exclusively conventional and geometrical in design, bands, chequer patterns, and diamond figures predominating. A vase in the shape of a pig, the domestic animal most characteristic of early Sumerian life, was a revelation to us; it had been supposed that theriomorphic vases were unknown in Mesopotamia! In one room one hundred and fifty good clay tablets lay in a tumbled mass on the pavement. They are the oldest known documents written on clay tablets, and I was astonished to find that not a single name of a deity occurs here. We had reached that remote age before the religious genius of man had clearly defined the Divine powers which he worshipped. And this is all the more astounding when on tablets, not more than three hundred centuries later from Shuruppak in the far south, we find the names of over eight hundred gods, a good part of the vast Sumerian pantheon. Seals of the most primitive type, copper fish-hooks and flint implements of the Neolithic period abound here. The most remarkable objects I found in a ruined house; they are beautiful and delicate miniature imitations of the larger painted vessels, and are obviously designed as works of art and not for utilitarian purposes.

Although this is the oldest site hitherto excavated, there is one feature which came as a complete surprise to archæologists. The bricks used here are flat and rectangular, and not plano-convex as we should expect by all the canons of Mesopotamian archæology. They measure seven and three-quarters by four inches, and are two and one-fifth inches thick. The baked bricks have two cleanly cut holes at the centre which run straight through the bricks.

This is a new factor in the history of brick-making, and it must be assumed that the first workers of this craft used a mould.

Only a half mile away to the south of Jemdet Nasr lie colossal ruins, named Barguthiyat by the Arabs.¹ I planned this site and found there a large marble slab three feet square and four inches thick inscribed with the words, 'Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.' All the surface débris indicate the period of this king, but excavations may prove it to be ancient. It has no stage tower apparently, but its five lofty mounds surely indicate an immense city whose identity cannot even be suggested. It is difficult to convey any idea of the awful desolation of this land, which is covered with the ruins of cities and strewn for miles in the open plains with pottery sherds from rural habitations.

Besides the work done by the two expeditions at Kish and Ur, there is little to relate. An American School of Archæology has been founded at Baghdad, equipped with the library of the late Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia. It has an annual director but no building, and the library is not accessible. Three directors have occupied this post in succession, the late Professor Clay of Yale University, Professor E. Chiera of Philadelphia, and Professor Dougherty now at Yale. Dr. Chiera did some work at Kerkuk east of Assur below the Lower Zab river, where he is said to have recovered a great number of contract tablets containing local Mitanni names. The natives of those parts have been selling tablets of this kind for many years, and they are valuable, on account of the information which can be obtained from the personal names, concerning the almost unknown language of the Mitanni people. The American School has planned an archæological survey of the whole of Mesopotamia which should be useful. Of the work done by French excavators at Susa since the War it is not possible to write here; for this site lies outside the scope of this review. A few reports of the work there, carrying on the successful excavations of the late M. de Morgan, are accessible in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. Painted ware of the early period has again been recovered at Susa, but no other outstanding monuments have come to my notice.

¹ Mr. Henry Field took several photographs of all the mounds in this area.

In the Study.

Virginibus Puerisque.

The White Line.¹

'I will run the way of thy commandments.'—
Ps 119³².

DOWN in the cities where there is a rush and jostle of traffic and such a crush, with motors flying this way, and motors flying that way, and motors rushing every way, at some dangerous corners where there is like to be a smash, they have thought out something to prevent accidents, have painted a white line in the centre of the streets; and they tell every one in cars, 'Now you mustn't come swinging round this corner any way; you must keep to your own side of this line; motors going this way to this side, and motors going that way to that side. And if you won't, if you come barging round on the wrong side, there's going to be questions asked and quite a lot of trouble. You didn't notice? Are you blind? The line is painted white so that you can't help seeing it. You meant no harm? You have driven for years and years and never had an accident? Perhaps. But some day, if you rush about like that all over the road, you'll have one, and a bad one, too. Anyhow, you've to keep to your own side.' And if the driver in the motor plays the game, and says, 'All right! I'll be careful about it after this, and keep to my own proper side of the white line,' that's what it means to run in the way of the commandments.

You and I haven't got a car—worse luck!—and yet it's difficult, isn't it, for us too to get about without running into some one, to put in a long, wet Saturday afternoon without a quarrel with somebody, to live day after day at school and not fall out with some chap or other? For he wants this, and you want that; or perhaps you both want the same thing and both can't have it. And we're in such a hurry, and keep cutting in before the others, and it's difficult not to go crashing into something as we come rushing round some corner. And God knows it is difficult. You mustn't go flying about like that, He says, or there's sure to be bad trouble some day. Look, here is a white line, plain to see, that I have had painted in the centre of the street; keep to your own side of it,

always run in the way of the commandments, and things will be all right.

If we do, there will be plenty of room for us on our own side. We won't be cramped or crushed one little bit. Yet isn't it funny how we always want to do the things we aren't allowed to do? Often you can see cows and horses in a great, big field of green, fresh grass; and yet, with all that to eat, they are stretching their necks over the barbed wire of the fences, straining to reach something that isn't half as good as what they have in plenty. It's the hedge being there that sets them longing for it. And you do feel an itch and longing to sit up at nights. Why? Just because you aren't allowed to do it. That's why. For we're apt to think that the things we can't do are the jolliest; that to be good is to be dull and prosy, and a bit of a muff; that it's the fellows who disobey and don't care who have all the fun and the adventure; that the other side of the white line looks far more exciting. That's all nonsense. A fine story-teller died the other year, and she said, 'If I could write my books all over again, I would correct a silly mistake that I've been making. I've written as if the selfish people were the big and brave and manly people; and they are not, but just babies who can't play the game, and stand up to their temptations and go straight. It's the good folk who have all the fun and the exciting things in life, and they are the real heroes, not the other mugs.' There's plenty room and heaps of interesting things upon the proper side of the white line. It is from the windows on that side of the train that you have by far the prettiest view.

Anyway, we've got to keep on that side, or else there'll be trouble—not to-day perhaps, and not to-morrow maybe; but some time there will be an awful spill. You may slack to-night and yet get off at school to-morrow wonderfully well; you may creep through quite a lot of times, but some day there will come a test, or an exam, or an inspector, and there'll be a hideous smash, as sure as anything. You may be greedy and grabby and it won't seem to matter very much; for it is only about little things. But some day there'll be a bigger thing, and it will tell then. Some one will be wanted to play in the big match. You? 'Oh,

¹ By the Reverend A. J. Gossip, M.A., Aberdeen.

no,' they'll say, 'he's no use, he's so selfish; he never passes, he wants to do everything on his own, and to have the whole credit for himself; he is no good at all.' Or, 'What's the good of playing him? He doesn't hit out for a win, thinks only of his wretched average, and won't take any risks for the side's sake.' And you will be left out—too selfish.

And some day God will want upon His side some one on whom He can depend. What about you? No, you won't do at all! I knew a Colonel at the War who was ever so chummy with his young officers; yet all the time he was taking note of them, and watching them, and he knew them better by far than they ever realized. Some one would be chosen for some big adventure. 'Why didn't you give it to So-and-so?' I would ask. 'No,' he would say, 'he wouldn't do. I saw him once get into a tight place in a game of cards, and he got flustered and lost his head. Flustered at cards means flustered in a big thing too.' Or, 'I have seen him chaffed, and he got rattled and ratty over it. Now, I need some one for this job who can keep cool and steady, very cool and very steady. No, he's a good fellow, but for this he just won't do at all.' And so if you and I in little things keep barging anywhere all over the road, are selfish and peevish and cross about just nothing at all, it doesn't seem to matter much, yet some day God will say, 'No, I've been watching them, and they won't do,' and will set us aside.

Far better keep our own side of the white line always, and in everything.

Fiddle and I.¹

'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee.'—2 Ti i⁶.

He is an old fiddle, richly marked and of beautiful tone. Lest he should catch cold he is always wrapped in an old shawl, and his home is a leather case, lined with green plush. But the loveliest thing about him is his voice; at times it is surpassing sweet, and its notes have won him many friends. But of late he has been silent—as mute as the harp that hung on Tara's walls. And I am sorry to say that the fault is mine. For the fiddle is mine, and he can only speak when I encourage him. I love him still, but for a long time I have had so many other

things to do that I have left him alone. When I have occasionally spoken with him and tried to discourse sweet music, the voice has sounded so little like the old voice that I have put him away again, sad and disappointed.

But I took him out again the other day and gently caressed the strings with my fingers. The tone was still rich, but my fingers were stiff and out of practice and the notes came painfully. After a few minutes I put him down again and looked at him, and as I did so the room I was in seemed to vanish and I saw a little boy, about seven years of age, holding the fiddle for the first time. His arm was a little short and his fingers clumsy, but the teacher was very patient, and when the boy got tired and disappointed with his own efforts, the teacher took the violin and made it sing as though it was the easiest as well as the most beautiful thing in the world. After that he tried again, and though it was a long time coming, gradually he learned to make the fiddle say sweeter things. But it was a slow and painful business, especially when the teacher was not there to help, and the daily practice was the hardest thing of all. One, two, three, four; one, two, three, four—is it time to finish yet? One, two, three, four; one, two, three, four—I am sure that clock has stopped. One, two—oh dear, why do I have to practise when the sun is shining and the boys and girls are playing in the street? But time and patience work wonders. It was a great day when the 'Blue Bells of Scotland' was first tried. Then came 'The Minstrel Boy,' and after that 'Blue Bells of Scotland' with variations.

A few years later there came a great opportunity. The boy, who was still rather small, was given the chance to play in an orchestra with grown-up men and women. It is true he was hidden amongst the second fiddles, and he was told to get to practices very early so that he could put up the music-stands and save the men from getting their hands dirty. But he didn't mind that very much so long as he was allowed to play even second fiddle in some of the most wonderful music that was ever played.

Then came changes. The boy became bigger, left school, 'went to work,' lived away from home, found more and more to do. And now he stood looking at the silent fiddle and seeing pictures of what used to be.

'Fiddle,' I said, 'I am sorry about it all. Do

¹ By the Reverend Norman Goodall, M.A., Walthamstow.

you think we can ever get the music back again ?'

'Why not ?' asked the fiddle. 'I still have my voice and you have your fingers. What is there to hinder us ?'

'I don't quite know what it is,' I answered. 'But you know as well as I do that there is a difference somewhere. Every time we have talked together lately we have both sounded awkward and disappointing.'

'And I think I can tell you why,' said the fiddle. 'First of all, you don't practise. And then you don't go to a teacher ; you try to manage all by yourself and you stumble at difficulties which a master would explain. If you really want me to speak in the old tones and to make music that is lovelier than ever, you must first of all go to a master who knows more about it than you ; and then you must practise hard, and do it every day, whether you "feel like it" or not.'

The fiddle said no more, and I slowly wrapped his shawl about him and tucked him in his green plush bed. But I knew he was right, and I knew that the music would come again if I took the trouble to practise and keep in touch with a wise master.

And what is true of the fiddle is true of the lives God has given us. Our lives were made for music—music like the song of the angels bringing peace on earth and goodwill amongst men. We don't learn to make it all at once. We have to grow and learn and begin with simple efforts, until the time comes when we can take our place in the great Orchestra of Life and help to fill the world with music. But while it is sometimes hard to learn, it is always easy to forget, and most of the troubles and sorrows in the world come because people forget. They grow careless and become busy with other things, and the music of life is left behind. And there's only one way to get it back. It is the way the fiddle talked about. We must practise daily, 'whether we feel like it or not,' and we must keep in touch with the Master. For Jesus was one who never forgot the music—the music of love and goodwill and unselfishness. And to those who have learned to follow the Master and give their lives to Him there have come the secret and the power to make music which grows richer and more glorious every year.

The Christian Year.

TWENTY-FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

Spiritual Growth.

'For this cause we also . . . do not cease to pray and make request for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding, to walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing, bearing fruit in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God.'—Col 1⁹. 10 (R.V.).

The scriptural conception of the saintly character and career is that of an ever-increasing strength and joyfulness. So far the scriptural conception is in agreement with the general law. It was said of William Pitt, 'He never grew ; he was cast' ; yet, as a rule, the normal person grows mentally in power and resource. Occasionally a youthful saint may astonish us by his completeness of character and exceptional ripeness of experience ; but the law of the spiritual life is that we go from strength to strength.

Professor Rufus Jones in his recent book, *Finding the Trail of Life*, re-lives his boyhood in order to interpret the religion of a boy 'and to show the boy in his struggle to get through the jungle and to find the trail of life. . . . More real than the snow fort which we stormed amid a flight of snow-balls until we dislodged the possessors of it, was this unseen stronghold of an enemy, who was dislodged only to come back into his fort stronger than ever, so that my assaults seemed fruitless and vain.

'When he was a boy on the frontier, going through a similar struggle, Abraham Lincoln wrote on his home-made arithmetic these verses :

Abraham Lincoln,
His book and pen :
He will be good,
But God knows when.

'I know precisely how he felt. . . . I now began to be haunted by the idea that I could never really like myself, that is, be satisfied, until I was every bit good, while all the time this attainment seemed an almost hopeless quest. The result was that I had, in this period, moments of wonderful happiness when I thought of the future life, and imagined myself an inhabitant of the heavenly city ; followed by other times of depression, when I saw myself as I really was—far from heavenly in nature, and as unangelic as boys usually are. I kept up a

vague hope, which I sometimes put into a prayer, that by some miraculous event I might be made good, and so have the struggle done with; that, in a word, I might anticipate heaven, and find out here what it was like to be every whit good and do now the kind of things I should do when I got to be truly an angel.

'I think that my Uncle Eli more than anybody else helped me to realize—not by what he said, but by what he did—that this goodness of character which I was after is not something miraculous that drops into a soul out of the skies, but is rather something which is formed within as one faithfully does his set tasks, and goes to work with an enthusiastic passion to help make other people good.'

Many sincere Christians, whilst conscious of much in their life that is genuinely good, are distressed to find it so faint; they are almost as deeply abased by the sight of their virtues as pained by the evidence of their faults. Victor Hugo says of our Queen Anne, 'No quality of hers attained to virtue, none to vice.' Whatever we may say of ourselves concerning the latter, we have reason enough to lament the faintness of the former. We often need to pray:

Forgive our faults, forgive our virtues, too,
Those lesser faults, half-converts to the right.

But this need not always be. It is delightfully possible that the graces of to-day so sadly lacking in the glow and glory of life may become full of the bloom and sweetness of perfection. Luther Burbank, the Californian florist, has succeeded in raising out of a wild field daisy a blossom five to seven inches in diameter; gladioli of greatly enhanced beauty he has taught to flower around the entire stem, instead of on one side only; the poppy he has so enlarged that it measures ten inches across its brilliant bloom; and the amaryllis has increased in diameter from two inches to nearly a foot. Are not corresponding enlargements and transfigurations possible in our moral and spiritual life? Our present graces may be starved and meagre; our kindness, justice, truth, patience, purity, and love, of the meanest growth, no better than the coarse grasses and dwarf blossoms of the prairie; and yet how large their possibilities! How delicate and splendid these traits of Christian character when seen in the Master, and in the disciples who follow Him closely! And there is no strength, serenity, or charm that we admire in

the elect that may not be reproduced in the weakest of us.

The origin of the Christian character is a new heart and a new spirit, and all development begins with that inward renewal, a renewal in the spirit of the mind. The culture of character may be attempted on other lines, prompted by different motives, dominated by independent models; but such culture is not Christian. Revelation teaches that character is based on a spiritual principle, a principle of life, and its growth in power and beauty implies a fuller expression of that life. It is therefore vain to seek the ennoblement of the outer life unless we are careful vigorously to maintain the interior life. 'I am the true vine. . . . Abide in me.' Here, then, is the vital truth, the principle of moral perfection is affiance in Christ. He is absolutely essential to the realization of all the high, far-off excellence of which we have an intuition and to which we sincerely aspire. In His presence we must dwell, His beauty contemplate, His merit trust, His love share, into His spirit drink, and in His steps we must follow.

We may borrow an illustration from another sphere to help us to understand this intimacy and oneness with our Lord. John Gibson, the famous sculptor, writes thus in his diary: 'I renewed my visits to the Vatican. It is not to criticize that I go there, but to seek instruction in my art, which the Greeks carried to perfection. Those few masterpieces which have come down to us, though I have dwelled upon them thousands of times, still at every new visit are contemplated by me with fresh wonder and admiration, such is the influence which anything perfect, both in design and execution, has upon the mind. Those grand works of the Greeks are ever new, and always produce fresh enchantment however often they may be surveyed.' Thus must we linger over the pages of the New Testament, contemplating closely and lovingly the living, speaking, active Jesus, whilst He grows upon us, more and more filling our imagination, mind, and heart. We can grow in strength and grace and blessedness only whilst this is our habit.

1. We must grow in the *knowledge* of Christ. To increase in the knowledge of Christ is to increase in the knowledge of God; He is the only true, saving, vivifying source of such knowledge. How prone we are to think that we already know Christ, when indeed we only know something about Him! There

are many degrees of knowledge, and we have not fully learned Christ until we know Him and the power of His resurrection. The tourist who, guide-book in hand, hurries through the Vatican galleries, may flatter himself that he knows the immortal masterpieces, and for the rest of his life talk as if he did ; but he does not know them as Gibson did, who had 'dwelt upon them,' intently and sympathetically, 'thousands of times.' Really, only Gibson knew them at all. So, if we are to attain to the knowledge of Christ, a thousand times must He engage our thought and affection, and each time it will be with fresh wonder and admiration.

2. We must grow in the *faith* of Christ. Accepting Him as 'the way, the truth, and the life,' it is essential that we confide increasingly in Him as such. Then in the midst of trouble and mystery our souls will experience a deeper calm, being content to ask Him fewer anxious questions. But having confessed our sin with the sighings of a contrite heart, let us once for all, and with growing conviction, shelter in His merit, trust in His grace, expect His utmost salvation ; and as He has given us solemn assurances for the great future, we may with unshaken faith boldly face death and the grave, resting upon His word and promise. 'That we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error ; but, dealing truly in love, may grow up in all things unto him, which is the head, even Christ.' In his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians St. Paul writes : 'We are bound to give thanks to God alway for you . . . for that your faith groweth exceedingly.' Ever more deeply satisfied with the hope of the gospel, let us once attain this 'full assurance,' and to us the promise shall be fulfilled : 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee : because he trusteth in thee.'

3. Lastly, we must grow in the *love* of Christ. How continually the apostles dwell upon this ! To realize in our Saviour more vividly the goodwill of God to His creatures, His unfailing kindness and faithfulness, His eternal mercy and grace, until our heart glows responsively, this is to grow in the holiest passion of Divine love ; and herein is plenty of room to grow. Shakespeare affirms :

There lives within the very flame of love
A kind of wick or snuff that will abate it.

Yet most of us know even a human love in which this, happily, is not true ; and as we apprehend more clearly the love and beauty of God in the face of Jesus Christ, we become conscious of an adoring affection that no kind of wick or snuff can abate, and in this white inextinguishable flame our soul and its felicity are perfected.¹

SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE ADVENT.

Fear in the Night.

'Every man hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.'—Ca 3^a.

What a vivid glance into the life of an Oriental monarch ! Round Solomon's palanquin, decked with the luxury of the East, stand sixty chosen soldiers, fully armed, in order to ward off any nocturnal attack. The king's very sleep has to be protected against intrigues and conspiracies within the palace.

The uneasiness of the head that wears a crown has passed into a proverb, but proverbs are more often quoted than credited, and we may forget, in our envy of high rank, the well-worn story of its accompaniment. Our eyes are generally dazzled by the glitter of wealth and position when we look at those whose life seems to be one round of pleasure, apparently unvisited by any of the swarming cares that vex our lower level. It is only the sensible who stop to reflect that no success is without its penalties. The recollection of this might help to make us more considerate, for one thing. Misery does not always vaunt itself in rags and tears. There may be some secret fear in the night which haunts those who, in our vicinity, apparently have smooth and prosperous careers. And, for another thing, we might learn to be more contented with our own lot, instead of imagining that we could escape troubles by getting away to the high shores of the world where the tides of prosperity run brightly. Such positions are often won at the expense of heart's ease.

At the same time, it is not by accepting an obscure lot or by reducing our ambitions that we can escape fear in the night. That far-off Oriental scene—the palace in the night with its unsleeping bodyguard—is the counterpart of human existence. Many people who know nothing about palaces know what it is to be kept awake by the dread of the nameless, noiseless power against which they have to summon

¹ W. L. Watkinson, *The Shepherd of the Sea*, 123.

a host of good resolves and firm beliefs. Uneasiness about our health or prospects, doubts as to our usefulness in life, anxiety about our families or about our ability to hold out against temptation—these and countless other forms of evil haunt us, waking or sleeping. What are God's sentinels against such vexing thoughts? How does He strengthen life in face of the disturbing elements in its environment?

1. His first method of reinforcing us is by assuring us of *the value of the soul*. That is a conviction which brings its own peace and strength. Guards are set round what is precious, and man's first line of defence against the inroad of fear is the assurance that his life counts with his God, and counts greatly, even although he may seem to be numbered among

The mere uncounted folk
Of whose life and death is none
Report or lamentation.

This faith, which underlies all religion, is a moral stay of the inward life. When a man allows himself to doubt if his existence matters anything at all, he lays himself open to depression at every turn. As the sense of his personal destiny is lowered, his sense of security also tends to diminish. But when he finds that God has honoured him with the calling and career of faith, he realizes that life is far too precious to be left at the mercy of accident or impulse. It is not a conviction which wealth and success invariably tend to deepen. On the contrary, as our possessions accumulate, there is a danger of imagining that our life consists in these, instead of in the character of the possessor. Whatever be our lot outwardly, and sometimes the humbler it is the better, we must learn that God trusts us with life, that we are responsible to Him for this royal gift of personality, and that He in turn is responsible for us. We must recognize, in the light of Jesus, that it is not a matter of indifference what we make of ourselves. No guard of high resolves and steady faith surrounds the man who is simply living for appearances and selfish ends. But when we take life on God's high terms, faith breathes into us a new dignity and self-possession; we are steadied by the revelation that the meaning of life's discipline is the growth of our souls into the likeness and the mind of Christ. In the thought of that, guaranteed by the life which Jesus has revealed and which He lives to realize,

we can take refuge from disturbing fears about our future.

2. Another sentry stands armed before the chamber of the soul: it is *the instinct of danger*. The sense of its own value prompts life intuitively to protect itself against peril. Our moral being seems to have a mysterious shrinking from temptation, which corresponds to the instinct that makes insects avoid contact with certain plants or animals. The innocent heart recoils at a touch of coarseness. Conscience warns, or rather it forewarns, us against compromising associations, and the lurking sense of discomfort in certain pursuits or pleasures is often a wise movement of Nature, not a mere caprice of dislike. 'It is one great security against sin,' as Newman said, 'to be shocked at it.' No doubt it is an instinct of repulsion which we may easily kill. But if we do harden ourselves to compromise with moral evil or to scoff at sin, the soul is left a prey to fear, and to worse than fear. To lose the sense of being ashamed at what once made us uneasy, is not a proof of moral strength: it is no evidence of safety to become indifferent to what we are now pleased to dismiss as idle scruples and outworn prejudices. Moral purity and power are not ensured by any such hardening of conscience. It ought to be as natural for us in the spiritual as in the physical life to suspect and shrink from what would injure us. Such vague antipathies and aversions may sometimes be due to narrow training or to unenlightened prejudice, but they are often part of the defensive power granted by God to the human soul in a world where life is repeatedly surrounded by spurious and contaminating influences. We tamper with them at our peril.

3. Finally, there is a safeguard of life in *obedience to the will of God*. 'In his will is our peace,' in knowing it, in doing it, and in bearing it. Restlessness is sometimes due to the secret feeling that we are following our own bent. And there is no peace for the wilful or the wayward. As soon as we sit loose to any of the duties in which the will of God meets us, the inward life becomes unsettled; it is a breach of harmony with the ruling purpose of our world, and through the breach excitement and unsteadiness creep in. When people are constantly on the outlook for self-gratification, whether their pleasures are refined or low, when they clutch at all that comes their way and fret when they miss it, when their chief thought is about their own

rights and wishes, it is no wonder that this self-will dissipates their inward peace of mind. Restlessness is the inevitable result of depending upon external things like popularity or ambition for the interests of life. It is duty that steadies us. The surrendered will enters into the quiet strength of God's will as a will of goodness and love. 'Peace I leave with you ; my peace I give unto you,' said Jesus on His last evening. He could say that, because He could also say : 'As the Father gave me commandment, even so I do.'

Be our circumstances or surroundings, therefore, what they may, here are the safeguards of the soul, within reach of the humblest, and indispensable to the strongest and most fortunate. For the threshold of fear can be crossed so easily ! Harassing care and dread can thrust their way in, no matter what is our age or income or position. And where is our defence, where but in God's faith and faithfulness, worked into the moral experience of those who keep in touch with the realities of His life ?¹

ADVENT SUNDAY.

The Incarnation and Human Life.

'The last Adam became a life-giving spirit.'—1 Co 15⁴⁵ (R.V.).

1. *The Incarnation and Human Nature.* The Incarnation is a great revelation of God.² It declares what God is in His essential being. It reveals His redeeming passion and His love. The Incarnation did not create that passion and love. They were in God all the time. Love is His nature ; Father is His everlasting name ; but His love and His Fatherhood were both hidden till Christ came. The Incarnation declared them and made them manifest. It is in it we perceive the essential dignity and greatness of human nature—it was great enough to contain the Eternal Son of God. One of the best theological treatises ever written was that by Anselm on the question, 'Why did God become a man ?' That led Anselm at once to the discussion of sin and of atonement. But there is a question just as vital and important which concerns the Incarnation itself, and it is this, 'How did God become a man ?'

The answer to that question is this, that God could incarnate Himself in man because there was an essential kinship between the human and the Divine. Augustine says, and says quite truly,

¹ J. Moffatt, *Reasons and Reasons*, 169.

that the Divine became human in order that the human might become Divine. But this also is true (and to that extent Augustine's saying needs to be supplemented and corrected), that the Divine was able to become human only because the human already partook of the nature of the Divine. For, like God, man is a moral personality. Of course there had to be a great self-emptying on the part of God to become a man. But the possibility of Incarnation was present because man was a moral personality like Himself. God could not incarnate Himself in stars and suns, vast though they are, for stars and suns are just masses of unthinking, unfeeling matter. But He could incarnate Himself in man because man was a thinking, feeling, willing, moral being. The ground of the Incarnation is the great truth that God and man are essentially akin. This is the representation of man that we get in the Bible. When God had finished the work of creation, according to the old Genesis story, He said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.'

The final proof of the greatness of human nature lies here—it is such a nature that the eternal Son of God could use it and wear it and inhabit it. It is akin to the Divine. And it was the birth at Bethlehem that made all this obvious and clear. It did not create the greatness of human nature ; it revealed it—revealed it as so intrinsically and essentially sacred and Divine a thing, that the Son of God could become a man, a real man, and yet be the eternal Son all the time. The Incarnation has ennobled and glorified human nature. It is impossible for us ever to think meanly or to speak disparagingly about it again. 'The true Shekinah of God is man,' said Carlyle. But the Apostle Paul had already said the same thing in simpler but still sublimer fashion when he said, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you ?'

This truth about the essential greatness and sacredness of human nature is certainly no 'mere doctrine.' It has the most direct and potent influence upon life. If you think meanly of a thing, you can never do justice by it. Mean thoughts of human nature will lead directly to mean uses of it. And there are certain things that tend to make us think meanly of it.

(1) There is first our accentuated and deepened sense of the significance of man as compared with the vastness of the universe. Science has

given us an infinitely larger universe than our fathers ever dreamed of. It has multiplied space till it has become almost boundless ; and extended time till it has become almost infinite. And in contrast with it all the littleness of man has become emphasized, until some men become almost paralysed by a realization of their own insignificance. They argue that in such a universe they do not count, and what they do does not matter. And reasoning of that kind leads straight to useless and sometimes to very unworthy living. If we are to live nobly we must be delivered from everything that savours of self-contempt. And the way to such deliverance is to remember who and what we are. Bulk is no criterion of worth. You can balance on the tip of your finger a gem that shall out-price Snowdon. We must refuse to be terrified by this emphasis on mere mass.

(2) And if, on the one hand, the contrast between the universe and the individual makes us think poorly of human nature—so also do the things we see in man himself. For human nature as we see it in actual experience is often debased, degraded, sensual, vile. There are human beings who inspire us with nothing but aversion and disgust—they are so unspeakably base and foul. Our temptation is to despise all such and despair of them. But, if we either despise or despair of them, we shall be wholly unable to save and redeem them. We shall do with them as the Pharisees did with the publicans and sinners of their day—leave them to perish. The only way in which we shall be able to do our duty by the lapsed and the lost is to look at them in the light of the Incarnation. In spite of all their degradation and sin, those lost men and women possess the same human nature as Jesus did. They, too, are *capax Dei*, able to receive and contain God. Christ may be born again in them. Realizing that about them we shall despise none and despair of none.

2. *The Incarnation and Human Relationships.* Our Lord did not come into the world as a detached and isolated Person. He was a second Adam—a new starting-point for the race. But He was not unrelated with that portion of the race which preceded Him. In a real way He derived from it, He was intimately connected with it. He was a shoot out of the stock of Jesse. He was of the house and lineage of David. He was born the son of Mary. He entered into the various relationships of life. He began by being a little child in

the home. He was subject to His parents ; He was a pupil in the school of Nazareth ; He was an elder brother to a number of brothers and sisters ; He filled His place in the community ; He paid His taxes ; He was a loyal citizen of His State. And in all these relations—these everyday human relations—He was the Holy Son of God. By becoming Incarnate and living our life, Christ has shown how holy and sacred all these relationships can be made. Christ did not make them sacred by entering into them—but by entering into them He revealed to us how great and sacred and beautiful they are when rightly discharged. These relationships cover very much the whole of human life. What the Incarnation has taught us is that we can live as the children of God in every one of them.

We can make our family relationships sacred and Divine. They are such when rightly discharged. They are often enough the very reverse of sacred and beautiful. There is friction where there ought to be harmony ; selfishness where there ought to be loving service ; rebellion where there ought to be glad obedience. Life would be a different thing for multitudes of us if only we were wise and gracious parents, obedient children, unselfish and helpful brothers and sisters !

We can make our civic and state relationships sacred and Divine. Jesus paid His taxes, paid them scrupulously and honestly. 'Render to Cæsar,' He said, 'the things that are Cæsar's.' He made his very citizenship a Divine and sacred thing. And so may we. State life has become more complex since Christ's day. It touches us at more points. Now the State—I do not say any particular form of State—is a Divine institution. Our citizen relationship is a sacred relationship. Our obligations to the State are not to be evaded ; they are to be punctiliously and cheerfully discharged. And perhaps there is nothing we need more at such a time as this than the exaltation of our whole conception of citizenship. It is not a profane but a sacred relation. In our payment of our taxes and the discharge of our other State responsibilities we can act as children of God.

3. *The Incarnation and Daily Toil.* The Incarnation has glorified and ennobled all our human labour. For fifteen years Jesus was in the carpenter's shop and worked at the carpenter's trade. And all the time while He was mending ploughs and chairs and building the houses of the people of

Nazareth, making the doors and fitting in the windows, He was in His Father's house and about His Father's business. His labour was a sacred and holy thing. I think that was why Jesus entered a carpenter's home and Himself became a joiner. He wanted to show the glory and divineness of all labour. Amongst the Romans and Greeks especially all manual toil was despised, and was largely left to the slave. Now, if Jesus had been born as a member, say, of the professional classes, that pernicious heresy might have endured and become more and more widespread, and the countless millions who toil with their hands might have thought their labour was a profane and almost contemptible thing. But our Lord redeemed those tasks we think humble from any touch of secularity by Himself becoming a carpenter. For He did His carpenter's work as the Holy Son of God.

There is a familiar little poem which seeks to express the feelings of an old joiner at finding Jesus was a carpenter :

'Isn't this Joseph's son?'—ay, it is He ;
Joseph the carpenter—same trade as me—
I thought as I'd find it—I knew it was here—
But my sight's getting queer.

I don't know right where, as His shed must ha'
stood,
But often, as I've been a-planing my wood,
I've took off my hat, just with thinking of He
At the same work as me.

He warn't that set up that He couldn't stoop down
And work in the country for folks in the town ;
And I'll warrant He felt a bit pride, like I've done,
At a good job begun.

So I comes right away by mysen, with the book,
And I turns the old pages and has a good look
For the text as I've found, as tells me as He
Were the same trade as me.

There is a story told that an artist,—humble and unknown,—after gazing at one of the great pictures of one of the Master painters, was overheard to say in a kind of ecstasy, 'I too am an artist.' After gazing at Jesus, we too may well be moved to cry with gratitude and wonder, 'I too am a man.' For what the Incarnation has taught us is this, that every son of man may become a Son of God.¹

¹ J. D. Jones, *Watching the Cross*, 55.

SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

The True and Living Way.

'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.'—Jn 14⁶.

The confession of Thomas, 'Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?' compels Jesus to lay aside all figurative language, through which the prosaic minds of the disciples could not pierce to the moral and spiritual truth taught, and to declare plainly that the Father is His destination, and that He Himself in His life and teachings has shown, and is, the direction in which men must move to reach that destination. The goal of man's life is the Father, and the only course which can bring men to that goal is Himself, and that for two reasons: because He, as the truth, brings God to men by His revelation, and because He, as the life, brings men to God by His redemption. The clause, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life,' is a Hebraic mode of expression, and in our English fashion of speech would be expressed, 'I am the true and the living way.'

1. *The Goal.* Language is too poor to express spiritual relations adequately and accurately. Jesus speaks of going to the Father Himself, and of men coming to the Father by Him, when He does not mean a change of place but a change of state. To come to the Father means for man to think God's truth, to do God's holy will, to feel God's joy, to live in God's love. It is the mental, moral, and spiritual ascent of the human personality to the fulness of light, life, and love in the Divine personality. Man is made by God for God, and becomes himself only as he becomes one with God, not in an impersonal absorption but in a personal union.

The fact of sin as it hinders man's realization of his sonship, so it affects God's manifestation and communication of His Fatherhood. Sin is not merely an arrest of man's development Godwards; it is a misdirection of that development away from, and even against, God; it is an interruption of that ever-closer fellowship with God which goes with man's growing likeness to God. Coming to the Father on the lips of Christ does not mean, as for many modern thinkers, the realization of our personality in its affinity through communion with God, but it does mean God's love seeking and saving the lost, forgiving sinners, receiving the prodigal son to the heart and home of the Father.

The coming to the Father in ever-closer fellowship and ever-growing likeness is a process not completed in this earthly life but continued in heaven, for in the Father's house are many mansions. The hope of immortality is rooted in, and withers if severed from, the faith in God's Fatherhood. Death for Christ was a going to the Father; and with all reverence for His perfect personality, His own desire to depart warrants us in affirming that even for Him death did mean a clearer vision, a closer communion, and a freer and fuller obedience. Limitations of the expression and exercise of His sonship were removed by death. Death, then, for man, as for the Son of Man, is a condition of the approach to God. The progress in truth, blessedness, holiness, love, which is here begun, is not ended by death, but even enters on a new stage. Jesus' words would suggest that death is a great advantage to the soul as the beginning of a new stage of that Fatherward development of man, and a stage which is marked by so great an advance that, for those to whom to live is Christ, death itself is gain. As the Divine Fatherhood has subdued sin to its purpose of love, making the experience of forgiveness better even than the sense of innocence, so it has also made death the minister of a greater good.

2. *The Way.* In the relation of God to man the Christian religion asserts and insists on the mediation of Jesus Christ. This is not a mistaken tribute of affection, gratitude, and adoration to Him, but a simple acceptance of the claim He makes for Himself. He is the Way; it is through Him God is revealed as Father, and man is redeemed as son.

Just as in man's body there are organs of sensation and organs of movement, and in his brain afferent and efferent nerves, so in his consciousness there is cognition and conation. While he is active in both, yet in the former he is receptive, in the latter he is initiative. In the one the world impresses itself on him, in the other he impresses himself on it. The mediation of God by Christ has also a twofold aspect. To man as cognitive He is the truth, to man as conative He is the life. As the way He reveals God to man, and redeems man to God. God seeks to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, for God Himself is true. Men who abide in the word of Christ are His disciples, and they will know the truth, and the truth will make them free. In the Fourth Gospel truth

means not only subjective sincerity and objective veracity; it means even ultimate reality. Jesus is the Truth not only because He meant to speak truly, and because in fact what He spoke was true, but because in Him man is in immediate contact and intimate communion with what is absolutely and eternally real.

That man may come to God he must know God as He is. It is not necessary that he should know everything about God. There are secrets of His wisdom and resources of His power, to say nothing of glories of His perfection, which man has not the capacity to know and understand. What he needs to know is all of God which concerns his relation to God as Father. What Jesus revealed of God was not all that the man of science may want to know or the philosopher to understand, but the one thing religion craves to be sure of, the relation in which God stands to man, the Divine Fatherhood. Here is man's contact with ultimate reality, and it is a real contact. We do not believe God is Father because the belief works for our succour, comfort, and progress. It can so work only as we are sure that our belief is true. This certainty Jesus gives us not in word and deed only, but in life itself. He not only speaks and does the truth, He is the Truth. In His sonship, His trust in, love for, and surrender to God, the Fatherhood of God becomes a present reality in the life of man. In His grace to sinners, the love of God as forgiving sin becomes a present reality for sinful mankind. The certainty about God's Fatherhood and the forgiveness of sin at last communicates itself to us, and the Truth He is becomes the truth which we can hold without doubt or question.

In describing Christ as the Truth which becomes our truth, we have already passed to the second aspect of His mediation, for He is not only before us, but in us. He is the Life. This truth—that Christ is not an external testimony about God merely, but an internal influence of God—runs throughout the Fourth Gospel. He is the Living Bread, of which if any man eat he shall live for ever. He is the Resurrection and the Life. The reality of God which as truth He reveals, He realizes in us as life.

Not only is there, but there must be, the dependence of man on God as Creator, in whom we live, and move, and have our being; for human existence depends on Divine immanence. But still more in the conscious voluntary relation of

man as son to God as Father, man has only what God gives. He thinks truly only as God's truth takes possession of him; he loves fully only as God's love makes his heart its home; he acts rightly only as he wills God's will in himself. And this fulness of God comes to man in Jesus Christ. There may be a genuine Christian experience and a sincere Christian character in which this immediate contact, intimate communion, and indispensable communication with Christ is not prominent in the consciousness—the man knows himself living rather than having Christ in his life. But in the more intense types of piety this constant indwelling and continuous inworking of Christ in the human progress in goodness and grace is ever frankly confessed.

There is an exclusiveness in the Christian faith which is found in no other religion. It makes claims for Christ which no other religion makes for its founder. The monopoly of sole Mediatorship that it asserts is not an exaggerated compliment which a fond fancy for Him inspires. It is

an echo of His voice; and if the claim made for Him is unwarranted, the blame must fall on Him. 'No man cometh unto the Father but by me.' He is, as the true and living way, the only way to the Father. It is a historical fact that religion as a filial relation to God is found only where Christ's revelation of God's Fatherhood is known. No other religion has offered the world the same gospel. This fact is the inspiration of the foreign mission enterprise. If human personality is to fulfil its promise in union with Divine Personality, if the sinner is to be changed into the son of God, Christ must be known, trusted, and obeyed as Saviour and Lord. If the claim He makes for Himself, which the history of man's religion justifies, that He alone brings men to God as Father be true and not false, it must be the constant purpose and the strenuous effort of all in whom this relation to God has been realized to secure its universal realization. The path of duty is clear.¹

¹ A. E. Garvie, *The Master's Comfort and Hope*, 85.

The Early Christian Interpretation of the Passover.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., LL.D., D.D., BIRMINGHAM.

THE modern student of the history of the Church, whether he is occupied with its antecedent Judaism, or its recrudescence and neo-Judaism, has no difficulty in assigning an origin to the Passover, or to the Easter Festival which has taken its place. He knows from the twelfth chapter of Exodus, with the assistance of the happy translator's instinct of the English Bible, that Passover means what it says, that the word is jointed in the middle and will easily come apart; some one or some thing passed over some other person or things, and the historical explanation in the Book of Exodus is that the Destroying Angel of the offended Jahweh passed over the blood-marked houses of the Israelites, and that this motion of the Destroyer is called in Hebrew *Pesach*, or, as we say, Pass-over.

But even in the English Bible there is a suspicion that the incident recorded need not be the Judgment upon the Egyptians. In the Song of Triumph by the Red Sea, which is the original Paschal Hymn,

the singers affirm that 'the enemy will be as still as a stone, until thy people pass over, thy people whom thou hast redeemed.' If the English Bible were an accurate reflex of the Hebrew, we should say at once that the real Passover was the *passage* of the Israelites *through* the Red Sea. At this point a difficulty arises: the word translated Pass Over is not the word previously used (*Pesach*), but another word (*Abar*). The same word, however, has been used previously (Ex 12²³) as an alternative to the more usual word, and the translators have given us their perception of the linguistic variation by saying:

'The Lord will pass *through* to smite the Egyptians; . . . The Lord will pass *over* the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you.'

It seems clear, then, that the word *passover* might describe either the motion of the Destroying

Angel or the Crossing of the Red Sea. To the average student of divinity it will be the former explanation that is accepted. He will not even notice that there is another.

That is all very well for English scholars ; it is, however, easy to show that such a simple solution did not present itself to the early Fathers of the Church, many of whom knew little Hebrew, and despised what little they did know. Suppose, however, we turn to St. Jerome, who did know Hebrew, and let other people know that he knew it. In his commentary on Micah (*Opp.* vii. 530) we have as follows :

‘ exterminator in Aegypto *transcendit* populum Israel, et non vastavit eum (unde a *transitu*, *Phase*, id est, *pascha*, nomen accepit). ’

Here we have two Latin renderings of the Hebrew word for Passover, which would answer to the two Greek words *ὑπερβαίνω* and *διαβαίνω*, and we have each word applied to the Destroying Angel, unless the second word is an anticipation of the Passage of the Red Sea. Now let us turn to Jerome’s commentary on Matthew (*Opp.* viii. 210), where he is discussing the same philological problem. He tells us :

‘ *Pascha*, quod Hebraice dicitur *Phase*, non a *passione*, ut plerique arbitrantur, sed a *transitu* nominatur, eo quod Exterminator, videns sanguinem in foribus Israelitarum, *pertransierit*, et non percusserit eos. Vel quia Dominus praebens auxilium populo suo *desuper* ambulaverit. . . . Transitus autem noster, id est *Phase*, celebratur, si terrena et Aegyptum dimittentes, ad caelestia festinemus. ’

The explanation which Jerome gives is interesting, and like a good commentator he is multiplex. First of all, he warns us off from a popular derivation of *πάσχα* from *πάσχω* (or *Passover* from *Passion*) : then he has two translations which correspond to the Greek *διαβαίνω* and *ὑπερβαίνω*. Of these the first is applied to the Destroyer, and to the people crossing the Red Sea ; the second is proper to the Lord, aiding His people *from above*. Then Jerome adds a mystical explanation according to which the Passover is the flight from Egypt, which is the real *διάβασις*. It is very like the language of Heb. xi, where Moses keeps the *Passover*, to avoid the Exterminator (*ὁ ὀλοθρεύων*), and where the Israelites *passed through* (*διέβησαν*) the Red Sea, as

on dry land. We begin to suspect that the explanation of *Passover* as *Passing through* is very early.

Now let us see what Gregory of Nazianzus will say on the subject, from the standpoint of Greek theology.

In his *Oration on the Holy Passover* (P.G. 36, col. 636) he tells us that this great and venerable *Passover* or *Pascha* was called *Phasca* by the Hebrews, and in their language it signifies transit (*διάβασις*). The transit in question is the Flight from Egypt, and Return to Canaan. Spiritually it is an *Anabasis* as well as a *Diabasis*, an ascent from things below to things above. Gregory then goes on to explain, half apologetically, that names in the Scripture are often changed from obscurity to clearness, and from rusticity to elegance. That is why Christians changed *Phasca* to *Pascha*, because they saw in the word, when Hellenized, a remembrance of the Lord’s Passion (*τὸ σωτήριον πάθος*). Gregory is much more friendly than Jerome to the derivation from *πάσχω*. On the one hand, he is a Greek, and likes a Greek play on words, and on the other, he is the author of the poem which he calls *Christus patiens*. He differs from the modern exegete in making the Passover the act of the Israelite people, and not of the Destroying Angel.

It is pretty clear that the explanations referred to have a long ancestry, and we propose to show that they are substantially the interpretations of the New Testament itself. Suppose we begin with the suggestion which Jerome disallows and which Gregory of Nazianzus patronizes, that *πάσχα* has something to do with Passover and with the Greek verb *πάσχω*.

We will begin with Irenæus. In the twentieth chapter of the fourth book against Heresies, he tells us that Moses foretold the advent of Christ, the time of the Passion, and the place in which Christ suffered. The chapter is based upon a collection of *Testimonies against the Jews*. It opens with our Lord’s words to them, in which He advises them to search the Scriptures for *Testimonies* concerning Himself. Irenæus goes on to say that Moses foretold the day of the *Passion*, calling it *Pascha*, and that on that very day, so long foretold by Moses, our Lord fulfilled the *Passover* by *Suffering* on it : (*passus est Dominus adimplens Pascha*). It is quite clear that Irenæus, or the collection of *Testimonies* which he is using, must be held to have acquaintance with the equation between *πάσχα* and *πάσχω*.

The same thing can be observed in Tertullian's treatise *against the Jews* (c. 10) where he uses the *Testimonies* in a similar manner to show the Christian significance of the Passover; he says:

'Moses prophesied that you (*i.e.* the Jews) would do this thing in the beginning of the first month, when all the populace of the children of Israel were to sacrifice the lamb in the evening; and the solemnity of this day, that is the Passover of unleavened bread, which you were to eat with bitterness, he chanted beforehand and added the words, It is the *Lord's Passover*, that is *Christ's Passion*.'

So here we have the parallel between Passover and Passion, a parallel which must have been made in Greek, which has been shown to be at least as early as the second century. We shall now show that it is a first-century explanation, and at the same time that the explanation of *Passover* alternatively as *πάσχα* or *Passing Over* of the People, and the spiritual interpretation of the Transit, which we saw in Jerome and Gregory, belong to the same period.

First of all we turn to the Gospel of St. Luke, where our Lord is represented as saying to His disciples at the Last Supper,

'I should much have liked to eat this Passover with you before I suffer'; τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν (Lk 22¹⁵).

No person of Greek birth and training could miss the play on words which St. Luke here introduces. It is not, and cannot be, Aramaic. St. Luke represents our Lord as having made the connexion between the Passover and His own Passion. The importance of this observation for the criticism of the Lucan account is very great. If St. Luke is correct, our Lord is aware of the parallel between *πάσχα* and *πάσχω*, and may even be responsible for it.

But now let us turn aside and see what non-Christian writers of the first century have to say about the Passover, when they are explaining the Festival to Greek readers. Let us turn to Philo and Josephus.

Josephus naturally keeps as close as possible to the Biblical account, and Philo as naturally avoids the literal interpretation. Josephus translates *Passover* by *ὑπερβασία*. 'We call this Festival Pascha, and it means the *Passing Over* (*ὑπερβασία*), because on that day God *passed us over*, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians.' We note the use

of the verb *ὑπερβαίνειν*, which we detected also in Jerome's explanation. What Josephus calls *ὑπερβασία* Philo describes as a *διάβασις*. The Passover is the migration of the mortal and corruptible to the immortal and incorruptible (*διάβασις . . . τὸ πάσχα εἰρηται*). Evidently Philo is not interpreting the Passover of the Destroying Angel, but of the emigrant Israelites, returning to their own country; and he interprets it mystically, and shows at the same time that he knows of the linguistic connexion between *πάσχα* and *πάσχω*. 'It was ordered that the Passover should be kept, a *Passing Over* from the *Passions* to the virtuous and disciplined life'; καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα, τὴν ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἀσκήσιν ἀρετῆς διάβασιν προσητάκται ποιεῖσθαι (Philo, *de sacr. Abelis et Caini*).

We have seen, then, that all the explanations, literal and mystical, of the word Pascha, can be found in the first century.

We will now give a further illustration from the New Testament of the way in which the Passover was put into a Greek dress, over and above the *πάσχα-πάσχω* of Luke, the *διάβασις* of Philo and later writers, and the *ὑπερβασία* of Josephus.

The thirteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John opens with the statement that Jesus knew the time was come for His return to the Father, and in the sense of that removal He emphasized by sacramental acts and speech the love which He had for His disciples. The section of the Gospel is sharply divided from what precedes, and opens as follows:

'Now, before the feast of the Passover, Jesus knew that His hour was come, to migrate from this world to the Father' (ἵνα μεταβῇ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα).

Here we have a slight variation on the Greek words which we found in use for the Passover, such as *ὑπερβασία*, *διάβασις*, but the same interpretation. We now add *μεταβαίνω*, observing that the Evangelist himself invites us to see that it is Passover language that he is using. Jesus' hour is equated with the Passover on the one hand, and with the Passover migration on the other. The language is Philonean rather than Lucan, and there is no suggestion of a play on words between *πάσχα* and *πάσχω*.

These, then, are the two chief early Christian interpretations of the Passover; one of them leads to the Lamb without blemish, the other to the City of God.

Recent Foreign Theology.

God and Nature.

THIS volume¹ is a conspicuous example of the thoroughness of German learning. Printed as the books are in English, it would run to about 1600 pages; and every page is loaded with matter—sound knowledge and keen judgment. It would be quite impossible within the space which must necessarily be assigned to such a review to give an adequate account of its contents, or appreciation of its merits. On the one hand the writer seems to be quite at home in the realm of science, and on the other no less so in the field of Christian theology. A brief outline must be attempted as an inducement to readers to venture into this widely-spread and yet well-ordered region. In his introduction the author discusses the nature of the scientific investigation of Nature, and of the religious consciousness, and their relation. The first chapter deals with the significance of Nature for religion and its history. In the second chapter he describes how in the history of Christendom Nature has been regarded from the scientific and the religious standpoint. The next three chapters discuss the discoveries and hypotheses of modern science in physics, chemistry, biology, and anthropology. The treatment here is objective and not apologetic; the author lets science speak without any ban of theology. Then in chapter six he tries to show the religious value of the scientific world-view. Having thus explored religion on the one hand and science on the other in regard to Nature, he places both in the wider context of the philosophy of culture and

the theory of knowledge as parts of the organism of human thought. The last chapter is constructive; it deals with those last questions for thought, regarding which science and religion come into contact, and have sometimes been engaged in conflict. Needless to add that his aim is to show that there can be concord. The volume has an adequate index of names and subjects, and an admirable table of contents. The author can be commended for his meticulous care in the details of his book, about which many writers are regardless of the legitimate expectations of their readers. There are many passages well worth quoting; but I must content myself with his closing sentences. 'Who believes at all in the power of the spirit, and such practical idealists there are among theoretical positivists and materialists, cannot close his mind to the fact that religion also, despite all offences and hesitations of which it has been the occasion, is the most powerful revelation of the spirit, which mankind displays, and that without it a new, higher development of culture, as we long for it, is impossible. For the salvation of humanity scientific knowledge of Nature and genuine piety must come to understand one another. This book had as its motive the conviction that this accord is possible, that a great influence is assigned to it in the future, and it has sought to lay a foundation for this conviction' (p. 831). The foundation has been well and truly laid; this book is a valuable contribution to the fulfilment of the prophecy of a reconciliation of science and religion in the discovery that through Nature, as science interprets it, we may rise to Nature's God, as religion experiences His perfect, blessed, gracious, and glorious reality.

A. E. GARVIE.

London.

¹ *Natur und Gott: Ein Versuch zur Verständigung zwischen Naturwissenschaft und Theologie*, von D. Arthur Titius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926, S. x and 851).

Contributions and Comments.

Some Displacements in the Fourth Gospel.

THERE are several problems connected with the Fourth Gospel which appear to arise out of dis-

placements of the text. A notorious passage is 7⁵³⁻⁸¹¹. So also is the early position of the Temple Cleansing. There appears to be a break in the sense somewhere about 3¹³⁻¹⁶. The short section 3³¹⁻³⁶ seems to be out of place. The 'feast' of 5¹,

again, is a well-known difficulty. And there are others. Whether the following suggestions (they pretend to be no more than that) attempt too much, the reader must judge.

I would begin by endorsing the suggestion offered by Professor J. Hugh Michael in the June number of *THE EXPOSITORY TIMES* (p. 428 f.), that 3³¹⁻³⁶ should follow immediately on 3¹⁻¹³. This leaves 3¹⁴⁻²¹ to be placed elsewhere. It may follow 3³¹⁻³⁶ in its new position; but it fits just as well, if not better, after 12⁵⁰. But 12⁴⁴⁻⁵⁰ also seems disconnected from 12^{36b-43}; and I agree with the familiar suggestion (Moffatt) that it should follow 12^{20-36a}; while I should put 12^{36b-43} after the newly placed 3¹⁴⁻²¹. This section will then read 12^{20-36a}-12⁴⁴⁻⁵⁰-3¹⁴⁻²¹-12^{36b-43}. The reasons for these alterations, however, are mostly subjective, so I will go on to more objective positions.

Chapters 3, 7, and 12 certainly appear to have been disturbed. Along with 3¹⁻¹³ goes 2¹³⁻²⁵. The Temple Cleansing of 2^{13b-22}: 'And Jesus went up to Jerusalem,' etc., fits in admirably after 12¹⁹; and 7⁵³⁻⁸¹ comes in well afterwards. This gives us the Triumphal Entry as followed by the Temple Cleansing, as we find it in the Synoptic Gospels (omitting, with Luke, the incident of the Barren Fig Tree). The objective connecting link is found in Mk 11¹⁹ (11¹⁵⁻¹⁸ is the Temple Cleansing): 'And every evening he went forth out of the city,' taken along with Lk 21^{37, 38}: 'And every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called *the mount* of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.' Compare this with Jn 7⁵³⁻⁸²: 'And they went every man unto his house: but Jesus went unto the mount of Olives. And early in the morning he came again into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down, and taught them.'

If the above suggestions are tentatively accepted, 2^{13a} is left pendant. If to it we add 5^{1b-47}, the sense is perfect: (2^{13a}) 'And the passover of the Jews was at hand,' (5^{1b}) 'and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.' We may also add (with Dr. Moffatt) 7¹⁵⁻²⁴ after 5⁴⁷. But what of 5^{1a}? My suggestion is that it is an interpolation necessitated by the displacements in the original Gospel. The original sentence (2^{13a} and 5^{1b}) ran: καὶ ἔγγυς ἦν τὸ πᾶσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Note that the words τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη are common to both passages. After the dislocation had

occurred it was found that the 5¹⁵ passage began with only part of the words τῶν Ἰουδαίων, and since the following words showed that Jesus went up to Jerusalem, probably to some Festival, the editor or copyist prefixed, μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτή (a pretty safe guess; but vague, as he did not know which Feast), and inserted whatever letters were missing to complete the words τῶν Ἰουδαίων; part of which he found in his copy. Note that on the other sixteen occasions in Jn. when ἑορτή is used, it is always preceded by the article, which is here omitted. Alternatively it may be supposed that the division of the papyrus occurred lengthways along the line of the words in common: τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη, leaving them readable on both fragments. The usual length of a line in Codex B is about eighteen letters.

Chapter 5 (with or without the addendum of 7¹⁵⁻²⁴) will then be followed by 3²²⁻³⁰ 4⁵⁴ and 6^{1a}. If this arrangement is adopted, 2²³⁻³¹³ (with 3³¹⁻³⁶), left in the air by the removal of both its contexts, may be added to 7¹⁵⁻²⁴; in which case the section will read, . . . 2^{13a} 5^{1b-47} 7¹⁵⁻²⁴ 2²³⁻³¹³. 31-36. 22-30 4¹⁻⁵⁴ 6¹. . . . But 2²³⁻³¹³. 31-36 may just as fitly go along with the previously transferred (to follow 12¹⁹) 2^{13b-22}, with 7⁵³⁻⁸¹³ between the two; and the whole will then read 12¹⁹ 2^{13b-22} 7⁵³⁻⁸¹¹ 2²³⁻³¹³. 31-36 12²⁰⁻³⁶ 44-50 3¹⁴⁻²¹ 12^{36b-43} 13¹.

Incidentally it will be seen the troublesome 'Unknown Feast' of 5¹ has disappeared; other apparent discrepancies with the Synoptists are smoothed out, and the 'Pericope Adulterae' is reinstated as canonical (that it should have been omitted by many of the best MSS. is easily intelligible), while the only textual emendation is in 5^{1a}.

THOS. COTTAM.

Market Harborough.

The Arrangement of the Texts in the Third Chapter of St. John.

It is due to Professor Hugh Michael that I should register my assent or dissent in reference to his suggestion that in this chapter vv. 31-36 originally stood between v. 13 and v. 14 (pp. 428-429).

It must be dissent. We cannot accept every ingenious rearrangement of text founded on likeness of sentiment in the passages concerned. It is true that vv. 31-36 do not follow v. 21 as a develop-

ment of the thought of v.²¹. But why should we expect this? v.²¹ concludes one great statement; vv.³¹⁻³⁶ is another, completing the chapter (as we call it) vv.¹⁻²¹.³¹⁻³⁶. Moreover, in my book, on which Professor Michael is working, there is a 'key' to which all my rearrangements in the book, and subsequently elsewhere, have answered: the size of the page is 9.3 of W.H. small text—i.e. each dislocated passage is found to be a multiple of that. Applying this test to vv.³¹⁻³⁶, and to vv.¹⁴⁻²¹, we find a misfit. The passages do not answer the test.

F. WARBURTON LEWIS.

Bolton.

Who was Nathanael?

In his well-known book, *The Fourth Gospel*, Professor E. F. Scott has the following sentence with reference to Nathanael: 'This mysterious disciple, who is nowhere mentioned in the Synoptic narratives, and whose call is yet described with peculiar fulness and solemnity, has always been one of the riddles of the book.' Almost all commentators recognize that such an impressive description of his call, linked with those of Andrew, Peter, and Philip, point to the inclusion of Nathanael among the apostolic Twelve.

The traditional view that Nathanael is another name for Bartholomew has been widely accepted. But why Bartholomew? Westcott gives the following reasons: (1) The mention of Nathanael in Jn 1^{45f}. and in 21², shows that he was prominent among the apostles. (2) There is no mention of Nathanael in the Synoptics, nor of Bartholomew in Jn. (3) Bartholomew is in form a patronymic, and the bearer of such a name would most likely have another name as well. (4) In the Synoptic lists of the apostles (Mt 10^{2f}, Mk 3^{17f}, Lk 6^{14f}), Bartholomew is the companion of Philip, who in John brings Nathanael to Jesus.

No one of these reasons is conclusive. The first two might apply equally well to any of the several apostles not mentioned in John. In the next place, the patronymic is expressed in these lists by the use of the Greek genitive, e.g., ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, not by the use of the Aramaic ܒܪ, 'son of.' The name Bartholomew has lost its original patronymic sense as much as Barabbas and Barnabas.

The principal reason for the traditional view seems to be that, in the Synoptic lists, Bartholomew

is grouped throughout with Philip. Reference to the text fails to bear this out. It is true of Matthew. In Mark and Luke, however, Bartholomew is connected as closely with the following Matthew as with the preceding Philip, while in Ac 1¹³ their names are not even in conjunction. On the other hand, Philip is connected as closely with Andrew in Mark, and with John in Luke, as he is with Bartholomew. This argument thus falls to the ground.

If Nathanael, then, is not certainly Bartholomew, who else may he be? The one name which stares us in the face from the context does not seem to have been suggested. When Jesus saw Nathanael coming to Him, He said (1⁴⁷), 'Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!' Nathanael's prompt rejoinder: 'Whence knowest thou me?' has always been a stumbling-block. To say the least, the taking for granted of such a designation is hardly in keeping with the humility of an ideal Israelite. It has often been noted that the story of Jacob is reflected in the language of this passage (Jn 1⁴³⁻⁵¹, especially in vv.⁴⁷⁻⁵¹). But, further, is not the point of the whole dialogue to be found in a word-play on the name 'Jacob,' or what is taken as its equivalent, 'Israel'? And 'Jacob,' of course, is the 'James' of E.V. It is surely as natural to suppose that our Lord knew the name of His prospective disciple, as that He knew his disposition. As the young man comes within earshot, Jesus exclaims: 'Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!' Nathanael, or James, is contrasted with his namesake the patriarch. It is at the mention of his name, or what he takes as a reference to it, that he is surprised. 'Whence knowest thou me?' he asks.

The interpretation suggested above requires, of course, that we read 'Israel' for 'Israelite.' If Professor Burney's hypothesis of an Aramaic origin for the Fourth Gospel be accepted, the difficulty is reduced to a minimum. In that case, the difference would be in a single *yodh*.

If Nathanael be James, can we say which James? As we place him among the Twelve, he must be either the son of Zebedee or the son of Alphæus. The prominence given him would tempt us to identify him with the former, were it not for Jn 21², where Nathanael and the sons of Zebedee are found together. Even that difficulty would not be found insuperable by some scholars. Accepting it, however, we are left to identify Nathanael with James the son of Alphæus.

The question remains as to why the disciple is in John called Nathanael, if his name was Jacob, or James. Surely it is to distinguish him from others of that name, no less than four of whom have been distinguished in the Gospels. There is James the brother of John, son of Zebedee; there are James the son of Alphæus; James the Lord's brother; James the son of Mary, and perhaps James the brother or father of Jude.

The possession of two names was, as we know, not uncommon. We have Simon Peter, Matthew or Levi, Saul called Paul, and others. What is more likely than that the later prominence of James the Lord's brother so overshadowed this earlier disciple, that by the time the Fourth Gospel was written, he had become more familiarly known by his other name, Nathanael?

R. B. Y. SCOTT.

Toronto.

Entre Nous.

Christ of the Indian Road.

In his preface to *The Christ of the Indian Road*, Dr. Stanley Jones says that the book is not 'An Indian Interpretation of Christ,' it is, rather, an attempt to describe how Christ is becoming naturalized upon the Indian Road. The book is not an Indian interpretation of Christ, partly because that is not its author's purpose, but partly because there is at present no Indian interpretation to give an account of. The Indian Christian has made no real contribution to Christian Theology because he has been trying to think through Western forms. But Dr. Jones believes that in the future, and perhaps in the near future, Indian Christianity will find its own forms, and the religious genius of India pour itself through Christian moulds. And not the least interesting part of this book is the forecast of the form which this Indian interpretation will take. There will be three notes in it, Dr. Jones believes. First, the followers of the Christ of the Indian Road 'will show us the real meaning of a *spiritual* life. They will sit lightly to earthly things and abandon themselves to the spirit.'

Along with that will come 'the sense of the unity and harmony running through things. "Don't you think atonement would mean attunement?" said a Hindu to me one day. He felt his life was "like sweet bells jangled out of tune" by sin and evil, and to his mind, craving inward peace and harmony, atonement would bring attunement to the nature of God—music instead of a discord. No wonder peace has been the great thought and craving of India. Anything like losing one's temper is thought to be utterly incompatible with the truly religious life. "I know I haven't salvation yet," said a villager to

me one day, "for while I have conquered everything else anger still remains, I haven't got it yet." The followers of the Christ of the Indian Road will be harmonized and peaceful.' And the third note will be renunciation. 'The followers of the Christ of the Indian Road will know the meaning of the cross, for India stands for the cost of being religious. Renunciation will be a reality, for India instinctively grasps the meaning of Jesus when he says that the way to realize life is to renounce it—to lose it is to find it. In the footprints of many of his followers as they walk along the Indian Road will be blood-stains, for they will be Apostles of the Bleeding Feet.'

But we have diverged from Dr. Jones' main purpose, which is to describe how Christ is being naturalized upon the Indian Road. He believes that to-day there is a great movement towards Christ—a movement not only of the outcastes but of the intelligentsia. They are ready for Christ in spite of some stumbling-blocks. A Hindu teacher told him on one occasion that he wanted to become a Christian, "but I do so in spite of the lives of the Europeans I have seen here. They seem to have two loathings, one is religion and the other is water." And he did not mean it for bathing, but for drinking purposes.' A great stumbling-block is race prejudice. On more than one occasion Dr. Jones had to make his own position clear with regard to the colour question before he could continue with his message, and on this point he makes a very piercing hit when he says, speaking of the planter in the Malay States, that his 'race prejudices do not extend as far as his lusts.'

But what India is ready for, Dr. Jones says, is

Christ, not Christianity, if by that is meant the system that has been built up in the West. And the work of the missionary is to 'introduce' Christ. 'I spoke to a Hindu student one night in the after-meeting of a series and asked him if he didn't want to know Christ. "Yes," he said, eagerly, "but I do not know how to go to him." I suggested that I should love to introduce him to my Master. I saw quite vaguely then what is clear to me now: my chief business and chief joy is to introduce men to this Christ of the Indian Road.

'If I do that, I must know him myself, and that means much.'

'A friend of mine was talking to a Brahman gentleman, when the Brahman turned to him and said, "I don't like the Christ of your creeds and the Christ of your churches." My friend quietly replied, "Then how would you like the Christ of the Indian Road?" The Brahman thought a moment, mentally picturing the Christ of the Indian Road—he saw him dressed in Sadhus' garments, seated by the wayside with the crowds about him, healing blind men who felt their way to him, putting his hands upon the heads of poor, unclean lepers who fell at his feet, announcing the good tidings of the Kingdom to stricken folks, staggering up a lone hill with a broken heart and dying upon a wayside cross for men, but rising triumphantly and walking on that road again. He suddenly turned to the friend and earnestly said, "I could love and follow the Christ of the Indian Road."

'How differs this Christ of the Indian Road from the Christ of the Galilæan Road? Not at all.'

The *Christ of the Indian Road* has already passed through six editions in America, and Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have now published the first English edition (3s. 6d. net). It cannot fail to be read with the greatest interest and profit. The author—Dr. Stanley Jones—is a missionary to India and a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Christ or—nothing.

'Mrs. Besant announces a coming World Teacher. She puts forth Krishnamurti, a Brahman youth who is to be the incarnation of Christ. (Even here she naïvely acknowledges the supremacy of Jesus, for it is to be an incarnation of *Christ*.) He has given forth his first instalment of world teaching, and has received divine honours in India and in the West. I had a long interview with him, found him of average intelligence, of rather lovable disposition,

of mediocre spiritual intuitions, and heard him swear in good, round English! I came away feeling that if he is all we, as a race, have to look to in order to get out of the muddle we are in, then God pity us.

'There is literally no one else on the field and nothing else on the horizon. It is Christ or—nothing.'¹

Necessities.

Week by week Dr. G. H. Morrison contributes a short homiletic or devotional study to 'The British Weekly.' These eagerly looked-for addresses have now been collected and published in book form, with the title *Highways of the Heart* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s. net). The subject of one striking address is the unescapable elements of life 'approving ourselves . . . in necessities' (2 Co 6⁴). Necessities in the idiom of the Greek does not connote necessary things. 'It means experiences from which is no escape. It is in such experiences Paul wants to be approved.' What, Dr. Morrison asks, are these unescapable elements of life? 'One thinks first of certain bitter things that reach men in the realm of mind or body.' 'There is blindness; there is lameness; there is deafness; there is congenital deformity of body. There are brains that never can be brilliant, and faces that never can be beautiful. There are thorns in the flesh, messengers of Satan, hindering influence and power and service, that are going to be present to the end.'

'Then one's thoughts go winging to temptation, for temptation is one of the "necessities" of life. Separate from each other in a thousand ways, we are all united in temptation. A man may escape the gnawing tooth of poverty, or the anguish and the languor of disease. He may escape imprisonments and stripes, and the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." But no man, be he wise or simple, rich as Croesus or poor as Bartimæus, ever escapes the onset of temptation.'

'Another of the "necessities" of life is what our Saviour calls the cross. Just as in every lot there is a crook, so in every life there is a cross. You remember how our Lord declared this—"If *any man* will come after Me, let him take up his cross"—not certain men in strange peculiar circumstances, but *any man*, right to the end of time. From which we gather that in the eyes of Christ the cross was universal in experience, one of the things that

¹ E. Stanley Jones, *The Christ of the Indian Road*, 62.

nobody escapes. The cross is anything very hard to carry—anything that takes liberty from living—anything that robs the foot of fleetness, or silences the music of the heart. And men may be brave, and hide the cross away, and breathe it with flowers so that none suspects it, but, says Jesus, it is always there. There are only two things men can do with crosses—they can take them up or they can kick against them. They can merge them in God's plan of life for them, or they can stumble over them towards the glen of weeping. And what could be finer, in the whole range of life, than just to determine, as the apostle did, to be divinely approved in the cross ?

The Riches of Poverty (Lk 21⁴).

'The words, "of her penury," carry a deeper suggestion than the mere fact of our poverty can convey. It was a gift out of penury that lit up the eyes of the Lord of Life when all else about Him spoke of darkness. It was a gift out of penury that made the handsome contributions of plutocracy to dwindle into the merest trifle. "For she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had."

Nowhere does this sense of the unworthiness of what we have to give seize us with such paralysing effect as in the realm of prayer. We know what response we ought to make to the liberality of God's unshackled love. But we are poverty-stricken. And so we begin to wonder if prayers so thin and halting as ours are not an affront to both the majesty and the love of God.

'There is only one answer to such bleak mis-giving. If such prayers are "all our living," if they represent the honest sum total of the best our soul has to give, then, in pouring them into the Lord's treasury, we bring joy to the Heart that loved us unto death. Prayer is not to be measured by calories of emotional heat; its value is not commensurate with its ease and fluency. As a cold climate produces a strong race, so coldness in prayer often preserves the soul from enervating self-deception, and forces it to strike deep roots into the eternal Rock. The loneliness and emptiness of soul that we often experience in the very act of prayer may be the hand of God, dilating the heart by hope deferred and unfulfilled desire, until it can receive the Presence it longs for. For most souls, prayer, if taken seriously, is a business demanding high courage. Napoleon used to say that he admired the man who possessed "two-o'clock-

in-the-morning courage"—the courage that enabled him to face a long, rough march in cold and stormy dawns. With some souls it is always "two o'clock in the morning." For them, prayer means facing bleak winds of discouragement and being numbed with the chill breath of spiritual winter-time. But if their "living" consist of the two mites of courage and generosity, their "all" will surely yield high usury in the exchequer of the Kingdom.¹

Countee Cullen.

SIMON THE CYRENIAN SPEAKS.

He never spoke a word to me,
And yet He called my name;
He never gave a sign to me,
And yet I knew and came.

At first I said, 'I will not bear
His cross upon my back;
He only seeks to place it there
Because my skin is black.'

But He was dying for a dream,
And He was very meek,
And in His eyes there shone a gleam
Men journey far to seek.

It was Himself my pity bought;
I did for Christ alone
What all of Rome could not have wrought
With bruise of lash or stone.

Do you know the author of this poem—Mr. Countee Cullen? Possibly not, for Mr. Cullen is still young. He was born in May 1903, and this poem is taken from his first published volume. Mr. Cullen calls his book *Color* (Harper Brothers; 6s.).

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing:
To make a poet black, and bid him sing!

¹ E. Herman, *The Touch of God*, 89.